

UNIVERSITÉ DU QUÉBEC À MONTRÉAL

LE VOILE ISLAMIQUE ET LES ORIENTATIONS D'ACCULTURATION DES
FRANCOPHONES DU QUÉBEC

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RÉSUMÉ

Dans les villes multiculturelles où les membres des communautés d'accueil et les immigrants se côtoient quotidiennement, les différents groupes ethnoculturels doivent s'adapter les uns aux autres. L'*acculturation* renvoie au processus d'adaptation bidirectionnel qui implique un contact direct et soutenu entre des groupes ethnoculturels et qui engendre des changements chez les groupes impliqués (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936). Le Modèle d'acculturation interactif (MAI) a été proposé afin de mieux rendre compte des relations entre les immigrants et les membres de la majorité d'accueil en fonction de leurs orientations d'acculturation respectives (Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997). Les orientations d'acculturation sont une combinaison d'attitudes, de croyances et d'intentions de comportement qui guide les façons de penser et d'agir des individus. Cette thèse se concentre sur les orientations d'acculturation de la communauté d'accueil. Selon le MAI, les membres de la majorité d'accueil peuvent endosser les six orientations d'acculturation suivantes à l'égard des immigrants : l'individualisme, l'intégrationnisme, l'intégrationnisme de transformation, l'assimilationnisme, le ségrégationnisme et l'exclusionnisme. Depuis la conception du MAI, toutes les études mesurant les orientations d'acculturation de la communauté d'accueil à l'aide de l'Échelle d'acculturation de la communauté d'accueil (ÉACA) ont été menées par des expérimentateurs qui appartenaient au même groupe ethnique que celui des participants, donc, dans un cadre intragroupe. Dans ces circonstances, un postulat fondamental du MAI a été développé selon lequel les orientations d'acculturation sont plus stables et sont plus profondément intégrées cognitivement que des attitudes intergroupes qui sont moins stables (Bourhis, Montreuil, Barrette, & Montaruli, 2009). Cependant, aucune étude jusqu'à présent n'a testé ce postulat de base en manipulant les groupes d'appartenance de l'expérimentateur. L'objectif principal de cette thèse est d'utiliser le voile islamique pour tester ce postulat. Plus spécifiquement, la thèse est composée de deux articles empiriques traitant de deux études de laboratoire et d'une étude de terrain pour tester l'impact du hijab (voile islamique couvrant les cheveux seulement) et du niqab (voile islamique intégral couvrant le visage entier sauf les yeux) sur les attitudes ethniques, le comportement d'aide et les orientations d'acculturations des étudiants québécois francophones envers des immigrants arabes musulmans.

Depuis les attentats terroristes à New York et Washington en septembre 2001 par des Arabes musulmans fondamentalistes, les Arabes musulmans subissent une couverture médiatique négative ainsi que des attitudes défavorables de la part de majorités d'accueil à travers les pays occidentaux (Antonius, 2002). De plus, les femmes musulmanes qui portent le voile islamique sont devenues des victimes d'attitudes et de comportements négatifs dans les pays de l'Union Européenne (UE; Allen & Nielsen, 2002). Le voile islamique est devenu la cible des débats sur l'intégration des immigrants non seulement dans l'UE, mais aussi au Canada et spécialement dans la province de Québec. Ainsi, avant de tester l'impact du voile islamique sur les attitudes et orientations d'acculturation des Québécois, il a été nécessaire d'évaluer les attitudes envers le hijab et le niqab comparativement à d'autres types d'habillement. La première étude avait donc comme objectif d'examiner les attitudes des Québécois francophones envers différents types d'habillement. Des étudiants québécois francophones (N = 76) ont complété des questionnaires contenant des photos d'une femme portant une tenue occidentale, d'une sœur catholique, d'une femme portant le hijab et d'une

femme portant le niqab. Les résultats ont démontré que les participants avaient les attitudes les moins favorables envers la femme portant le niqab, suivi par la sœur catholique et la femme portant le hijab, tandis qu'ils avaient les attitudes les plus favorables envers la femme portant la tenue occidentale.

La deuxième étude a manipulé l'habillement religieux et l'ethnicité dans une expérimentation en classe afin de tester la stabilité des orientations d'acculturation comparativement à celle des attitudes ethniques envers des immigrants arabes musulmans. Des étudiants québécois francophones ($N = 345$) ont complété l'ÉACA ainsi que des mesures attitudinales envers des immigrants arabes musulmans. La même expérimentatrice a distribué les questionnaires dans les quatre conditions expérimentales suivantes : 1) condition contrôle avec expérimentatrice portant une tenue occidentale et déclarant un nom franco-québécois ($n = 86$); 2) expérimentatrice portant une tenue occidentale et déclarant un nom arabe musulman ($n = 83$); 3) expérimentatrice portant le hijab et déclarant un nom arabe musulman ($n = 81$); 4) expérimentatrice portant le niqab et déclarant un nom arabe musulman ($n = 95$). Les résultats ont démontré qu'aucune des orientations d'acculturation n'a varié selon les conditions expérimentales, à l'exception de l'orientation individualiste. Contrairement aux résultats attendus, les Québécois francophones avaient des attitudes plus favorables envers les immigrants arabes musulmans lorsque l'expérimentatrice portait le niqab que lorsqu'elle portait un habillement occidental avec un nom québécois francophone. Ces résultats peuvent être en partie expliqués par l'effet de contre-stéréotype. L'étude 1 a démontré que les Québécois francophones perçoivent les femmes qui portent le niqab comme étant plus passives et moins intelligentes et compétentes que les femmes qui portent un habillement occidental. Par contre, l'expérimentatrice portant le niqab dans l'étude 2 était une femme éduquée, compétente et qui parlait bien le français. L'écart entre les stéréotypes négatifs dominants des femmes qui portent le niqab et celui de l'expérimentatrice compétente qui était physiquement en leur présence peut avoir mené les participants à avoir des attitudes moins négatives envers les immigrants arabes musulmans en général. En ligne avec ces résultats, des études ont démontré qu'être exposé à des leaders de groupes minoritaires et à des femmes scientifiques était suffisant pour réduire les stéréotypes et préjugés automatiques mesurés par des tests implicites (Dasgupta & Asgari, 2004; Dasgupta & Greenwald, 2001).

La troisième étude de la thèse avait comme objectif de vérifier l'effet du voile islamique sur la stabilité des orientations d'acculturation, ainsi que le comportement d'aide des Québécois francophones dans une étude de terrain. Les attitudes défavorables envers le voile islamique ont antérieurement été liées à des comportements négatifs envers les Musulmans (Unkelbach, Forgas, & Denson, 2008). Donc, dans la mesure où les Québécois francophones endossent des attitudes négatives envers les Arabes musulmans, leur comportement envers les femmes qui portent le voile islamique devrait être concordant avec de telles attitudes négatives. Une façon plus subtile de mesurer les attitudes envers le voile islamique est le comportement d'aide intergroupe (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Hendren & Blank, 2009). Un nombre important d'études sur le comportement d'aide a démontré que 1) les individus sont plus susceptibles d'aider des membres de leur propre groupe (endogroupe) que des membres d'un autre groupe (exogroupe; Dovidio, Gaertner, Validzic, Motoka,

Johnson, & Frazer, 1997) et 2) que plus le coût de l'aide augmente, plus le comportement d'aide diminue (Dovidio, 1984). Lorsque le coût est bas, l'appartenance à l'endogroupe ou à l'exogroupe est moins susceptible de prédire le comportement d'aide intergroupe. Par contre, lorsque le coût de l'aide est élevé, la catégorie d'appartenance de l'aidé ainsi que celui de l'aidant est plus susceptible de prédire le comportement d'aide intergroupe.

Basé sur ces principes d'aide intergroupe, l'étude de terrain comportait deux étapes expérimentales. Tout d'abord, 323 étudiants francophones québécois se sont fait aborder au hasard par une expérimentatrice habillée en tenue occidentale, portant le hijab ou portant le niqab. L'expérimentatrice leur a demandé des directions pour se rendre à la librairie universitaire, soit en français soit en anglais (coût d'aide peu élevé; étape 1). Ensuite, une complice habillée en tenue occidentale a approché les mêmes participants et leur a demandé en français s'ils pouvaient remplir un questionnaire de deux pages qui comprenait entre autre l'ÉACA (coût d'aide élevé; étape 2). Les résultats ont démontré que les orientations d'acculturation des étudiants québécois francophones sont demeurées stables peu importe la langue ou l'habillement de l'expérimentatrice. De plus, les résultats ont démontré que presque tous les participants (96%) ont convergé vers l'anglais, alors que tous ont indiqué le chemin à l'expérimentatrice, peu importe sa tenue vestimentaire. Donc, lorsque la demande d'aide avait un coût peu élevé, tous les participants ont aidé et ce, peu importe la langue ou l'habillement religieux de l'expérimentatrice. Tel que prévu, lorsque le coût de l'aide a augmenté (étape 2), les participants ont aidé les membres de l'endogroupe plus que les membres de l'exogroupe. En ligne avec les attitudes défavorables des Québécois francophones envers les femmes qui portent le voile (étude 1), les participants ont moins aidé la complice lorsque l'expérimentatrice portait le hijab (52%) que lorsqu'elle portait une tenue occidentale (65%). Cependant, contrairement aux attentes, les participants ont aidé la complice en remplissant le questionnaire plus souvent lorsque l'expérimentatrice portait le niqab (87%) que lorsqu'elle portait le hijab (52%) ou la tenue occidentale (65%). Ces résultats peuvent être dû en partie à l'effet du contre-stéréotype étant donné que l'expérimentatrice était une femme éduquée et indépendante.

Une explication alternative tient au racisme aversif (*aversive racism*, Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986), selon lequel les individus sont plus susceptibles d'exprimer leurs préjugés et à discriminer dans une situation ambiguë, où les attitudes ou comportements défavorables sont moins susceptibles d'être justifiés sur des bases raciales, qu'une situation non-ambiguë où les attitudes ou comportements peuvent être clairement interprétés comme discriminatoires (Hodson, Dovidio, & Gaertner, 2009). Au Québec beaucoup plus de femmes portent le hijab que le niqab. Donc, refuser de remplir un questionnaire distribué par la complice d'une expérimentatrice portant le hijab pourrait être une situation ambiguë permettant aux participants de moins se soucier que leur comportement soit interprété comme étant discriminatoire. Cependant, la rareté des femmes portant le niqab au Québec (30 au total) peut avoir accentué la saillance de cette appartenance religieuse et fait en sorte que le refus d'aider la complice de l'expérimentatrice portant le niqab entraîne une certaine préoccupation d'être jugé ou accusé de comportements discriminatoires.

En résumé, alors que les attitudes (étude 2) et les comportements d'aide (étude 3) des Québécois francophones ont été affectés par la présence d'une femme portant le voile islamique, l'endossement des orientations d'acculturation quant à elle est demeurée stable. Ces résultats suggèrent que les orientations d'acculturation sont plus près d'une croyance profondément intégrée que les attitudes ethniques, qui sont plus superficielles et malléables. En ce qui a trait aux attitudes plus favorables envers les arabes musulmans (étude 2) et l'augmentation du comportement d'aide (étude 3) des Québécois francophones en présence d'une femme qui porte le niqab en comparaison avec une femme qui porte une tenue occidentale, deux explications ont été suggérées : celle du contre-stéréotype et celle du racisme aversif. Puisqu'aucune d'entre elles expliquent entièrement les résultats contre-intuitifs obtenus, des études futures devraient explorer davantage ces deux hypothèses. Enfin, les résultats des études de cette thèse, en ligne avec l'Hypothèse du contact d'Allport (1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), semblent indiquer que même un faible niveau de contact avec une femme qui porte le voile islamique est suffisant pour améliorer ou du moins neutraliser les attitudes négatives de la majorité d'accueil envers les femmes musulmanes au Québec.

Mots clés : acculturation, orientations d'acculturation, voile islamique, hijab, niqab, Arabes musulmans, communauté d'accueil, contre-stéréotype, racisme aversif

CHAPITRE I

INTRODUCTION GÉNÉRALE

1.1 Introduction

North American metropolises are becoming increasingly multicultural making immigration a fact of life for many people who live in these cities. The adaptation of immigrants and their descendants to the country of settlement is affected by numerous sociological and psychological factors. Amongst the most important socio-psychological factors are attitudes held by host society members toward immigrants and related behaviours such as inclusion or exclusion expressed in everyday life and within public and private institutions (van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998). Host majority attitudes and behaviours toward immigrants contribute to the social climate toward immigration and ethnocultural diversity (Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997). Better knowledge of this social climate of acceptance or rejection is useful for a number of reasons. It is fair to assume that an intolerant climate does not benefit the immigrant or host society population (Berry, 2009). It is not only the immigrants who adapt poorly when faced with rejection, but also host majority members who feel that their identity is threatened by the presence of immigrants who they blame for not integrating properly within the host society. In the long run, this process can generate problematic and antagonistic intergroup relations between immigrants and members of the host majority. A better understanding of immigrant and host majority intergroup relations can be useful in developing more efficient public policies to improve attitudes toward immigrant communities, thus contributing to the social cohesion of increasingly multiethnic receiving societies (Forest & Kearns, 2001; Laurence, 2009).

After the terrorist attacks in New York and Washington in September 2001 (9/11) by Muslim Arab fundamentalists, there has been a great deal of negative media attention toward both Arabs and Muslim immigrants across the Western world (Antonius, 2002; Biles & Ibrahim, 2002). Moreover, Muslim women who wear the Islamic veil became victims of negative attitudes and behaviours in the European Union (EU; Allen & Nielsen, 2002). The issue of the Islamic veil became the flashpoint of the integration debate not only in the EU but also in Canada with the French province of Quebec being at the crossroad of the controversies. Thus, this thesis examines the impact of the Islamic veil on how the

Francophone host majority represents the integration of Arab Muslims within French “secular” Quebec.

1.2 Process of acculturation

Immigrants once in their country of settlement need to adapt to new cultures, languages, and institutions. Immigration normally implies an adaptation process on the part of the migrating communities as well as on the part of the host society. *Acculturation* is defined as the process of bi-directional change that takes place between host community members and immigrants who experience sustained intercultural contact (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936; Sam, 2006). The term *psychological acculturation* was proposed to account for changes experienced by an individual whose cultural group is collectively experiencing acculturation (Graves, 1967). This definition of acculturation implies that dominant as well as non-dominant cultural groups are influenced and transformed by their intercultural contacts and are expected to modify some aspects of their respective culture as a mean of adaptation to ethnocultural diversity (Berry, 1997, Bourhis et al., 1997).

1.3 Uni-dimensional and bi-dimensional acculturation models

Theories on acculturation could be categorized according to two major tendencies (Liebkind, 2001). Traditional models conceptualize acculturation as a linear assimilation process whereby first and second generation immigrants progressively abandon their culture of origin for that of the host majority (Alba, 2003; Sam, 2006). Early uni-dimensional models of acculturation proposed that immigrants move from one pole to another of an assimilation continuum, going from maintenance of their language and culture of origin to the complete and total adoption of the host community language and culture (Gordon, 1964). Within this framework, the adoption of the host community culture often implied the loss of the native culture. The middle point of this continuum was bilingualism and biculturalism, a transitional state leading to assimilation to the dominant host majority culture.

Recent acculturation models focus instead on a bi-dimensional process of acculturation (Sam, 2006; Snauwaert, Soenens, Vanbeselaere, & Boen, 2003). Berry (1974, 1980) proposed a bi-dimensional model of acculturation for immigrants which to this day remains the predominant model of psychological acculturation in the field (Berry, 2006, 2009; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Horenczyk, & Schmitz, 2003). This classic model proposes that the maintenance of one's native culture and the contact with the host community culture can be considered as independent dimensions instead of extreme points on a single assimilation continuum (Berry, 1990, 1997). Consequently, immigrants face two choices which are independent one from the other: (1) maintaining or not their culture of origin and (2) engaging or not in contacts with members of the host community majority. According to Berry (1997), immigrants can adopt four different acculturation strategies based on these two choices: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalisation. A significant body of research showed that the bi-dimensional model of immigrant acculturation was a more valid and useful operationalization of acculturation than the uni-dimensional model of acculturation (Berry & Sam, 1997; Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000; Sabatier & Berry, 2008; Verkuyten & de Wolf, 2002).

Despite the advantages of Berry's bi-dimensional model, it had some limitations. For instance, the early bi-dimensional model neglected the impact of the host community in shaping and regulating the acculturation process of immigrant communities (Bourhis et al., 1997; Georgas, Berry, Shaw, Christakopoulou, & Mylonas, 1996; LaFramboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993; Ward, 1996). In the last decade, research focused on the importance of considering not only the acculturation orientations held by members of immigrant communities but also those members of the dominant host community would like immigrants to endorse (Bourhis & Lopicq, 1993; Bourhis et al., 1997).

1.4 Interactive Acculturation Model

As proposed by Bourhis et al. (1997), the Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM) integrates within the same conceptual framework the following dimensions: (1) immigration and integration policies adopted by regional and national governments; (2) the acculturation orientations of immigrants established in the host society, (3) the acculturation orientations endorsed by members of the host communities toward immigrants, and (4) the harmonious, problematic, or conflictual relational consequences which result from the combination of the acculturation orientations of the immigrant and the host community members (Bourhis, 2001). As a complement to other acculturation frameworks, the IAM focuses on the cultural adoption strategies of immigrants and host majority members rather than on their dual group identities or desires for intergroup contact (Arends-Toth & Van de Vijver, 2006, Berry, 1997; Liebkind, 2006, 2001; Navas, Garcia, Sanchez, Rojas, Pumarez, & Fernandes, 2005; Phinney, 2003; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001; Snauwaert et al., 2003; van Oudenhoven, Ward, & Masgoret, 2006).

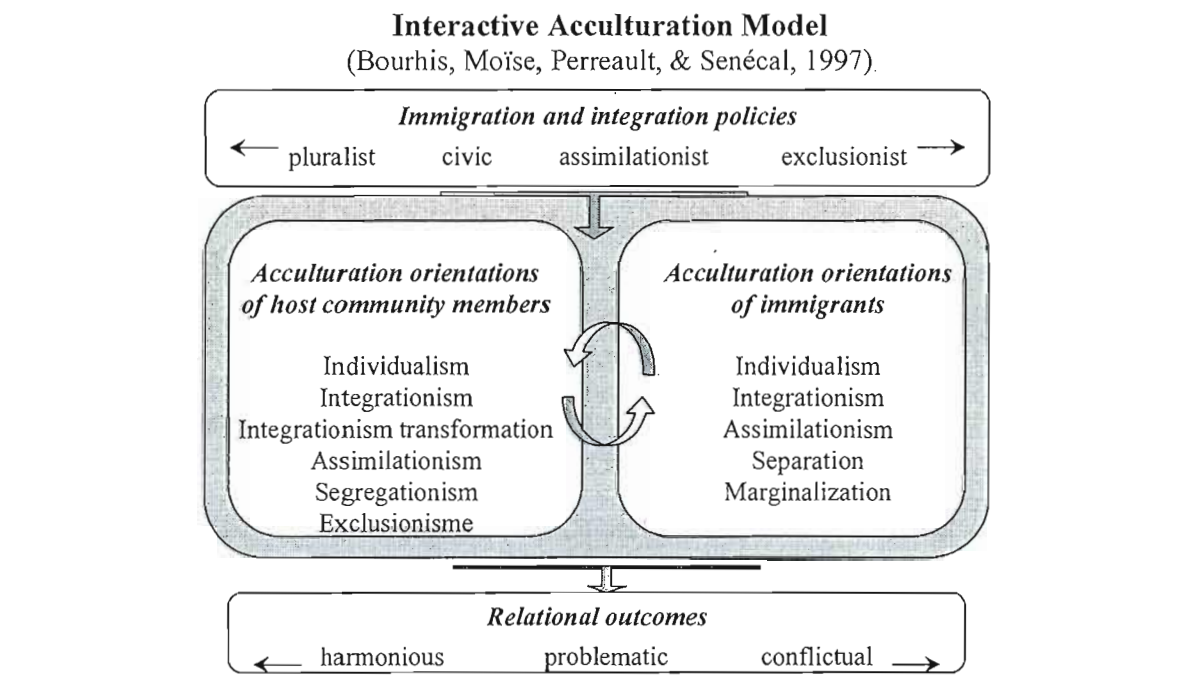


Figure 1. Interactive acculturation model (Adapted from Bourhis et al., 1997)

Immigration and integration policies partially reflect and shape the social climate of immigrant and host community intergroup relations. The IAM proposes a continuum of the different types of ideologies guiding these public policies and suggests that these integration policies influence the acculturation orientations of host community and immigrant group members. In democratic countries, these immigration and integration policies are often a reflection of public opinions as embodied by elected members of mainstream political parties who adopt such policies in the Parliament or National Assembly. Accordingly, the proposed continuum situates four integration ideologies ranging from a pluralist pole to an exclusionist pole with civic and assimilationist ideologies in between (Bourhis et al., 1997; Bourhis, 2001).

Most acculturation research measure acculturation *attitudes* or *strategies*. However, the IAM uses the term *acculturation orientations* which are defined as a combination of attitudes, beliefs, and behavioural intentions that guide the way people think and behave (Bourhis et al., 1997). In contrast to the term strategies, the IAM model considers orientations as not being necessarily conscious or fully thought-out. Building on the classic Berry (1997) approach, the IAM proposes five acculturation orientations that immigrants can endorse: integrationism, assimilationism, separatism, marginalisation, and individualism. These acculturation orientations are based on two fundamental questions: (1) the willingness of immigrants to maintain their culture of origin and (2) their willingness to adopt the culture of the dominant majority. Immigrants who endorse the *integrationist* orientation wish to keep their culture of origin and adopt key features of the dominant culture of the host society. Immigrants who endorse the *assimilationist* orientation renounce their culture of origin and replace it by adopting the culture of the host majority. Immigrants who adopt the *separatist* orientation wish to maintain all aspects of their culture of origin and are not interested in adopting the culture of the host majority. *Marginalized* immigrants feel rejected as much from their culture of origin as from the host community culture. The *individualist* orientation is endorsed by immigrants who neither desire to maintain their culture of origin nor adopt the host society's culture, not because of the sentiment of rejection but because group categorization are not pertinent to them. They self-define themselves and others based on

their personal characteristics and merits rather than on their group belonging (Bourhis et al., 1997).

By virtue of their dominant majority position in the country of settlement, the IAM proposes that acculturation orientations endorsed by host community members may influence the acculturation orientations endorsed by immigrants. The IAM proposes that members of the host community may endorse six acculturation orientations toward immigrant groups: integrationism, integrationism transformation, assimilationism, segregationism, exclusionism, and individualism. *Integrationism* is endorsed by host community members who accept and value that immigrants maintain some aspects of their heritage culture and also accept and value that immigrants adopt important features of the host majority culture. Integrationists value a stable biculturalism/bilingualism amongst immigrant communities that, in the long term, may contribute to cultural and linguistic pluralism as an enduring feature of the host society. *Integrationism transformation* is endorsed by members of the majority group who not only endorse the integrationist acculturation orientation, but also have a personal engagement to change aspects of their own habits and institutional procedures in order to accommodate the cultural needs of immigrant communities (Montreuil, Bourhis, & Vanbeselaere, 2004). *Assimilationism* corresponds to the traditional concept of absorption whereby host community members expect immigrants to relinquish their language and cultural identity for the sake of adopting the dominant culture and language of the dominant host majority. *Segregationism* refers to host community members who accept that immigrants maintain their heritage culture and values as long as immigrants keep their distance from host members, as they do not wish immigrants to transform or dilute the host culture and value system. Segregationists prefer immigrants to remain together in separate urban/regional enclaves, and are ambivalent regarding the status of immigrants as rightful members of the host society. *Exclusionists* deny immigrants the right to adopt features of the host community culture. They also deny immigrants the choice to maintain their heritage language, culture or religion and believe that some immigrants have customs and values that can never be socially incorporated within the host community mainstream. *Individualists* define themselves and others as persons rather than as members of group

categories. Because it is personal qualities and individual achievements that count most, individualists will tend to interact with immigrants in the same way they would with other individuals who happen to be members of the host community. These six acculturation orientations are measured using the validated Host Community Acculturation Scale (HCAS; Barrette, Bourhis, Capozza, & Hichy, 2005; Bourhis, Barrette, & Moriconi, 2008; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001, 2004; Montreuil et al., 2004).

According to the IAM, the quality of interpersonal and intergroup relations between immigrant and host community members is in part a result of the concordant or discordant acculturation orientations endorsed by such groups in contact (Bourhis et al., 1997). The quality of these relational outcomes varies on a continuum ranging from harmonious to problematic to conflictual. Relational outcomes may include patterns of intercultural communication between immigrants and host community members, interethnic attitudes and stereotypes, acculturative stress, and discriminating behaviours between dominant host majority group members and immigrant minority individuals in domains such as housing, employment, schooling, and the police (Bourhis, El-Geledi, & Sachdev, 2007). A body of research has confirmed that the concordance or discordance between host community and immigrant acculturation orientations influences the quality of intergroup relations between such communities (Barrette, Bourhis, Personnaz, & Personnaz, 2004; Bourhis, Barrette, El-Geledi, & Schmidt, 2009a; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2003; Rohmann, Piontkowski, & van Randenborgh, 2008). An exception was a study measuring American-Japanese co-worker relations which found that relational outcomes were similar between harmonious and problematic acculturation orientation alignments (Komisarof, 2009).

1.5 Endorsement of host community acculturation orientations

The present thesis focuses on Quebec Francophone host community acculturation orientations toward devalued immigrants. It is thus worth expanding on the endorsement of host community acculturation orientations. Overall, research using the IAM show that host community university undergraduates in North America, Western Europe, and Israel endorse the acculturation orientations of individualism and integrationism to a greater degree than assimilationism, segregationism, and exclusionism (Barrette et al., 2004; Bourhis et al., 2008; Bourhis & Bougie, 1998; Bourhis & Dayan, 2004; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001, 2004; Montreuil et al., 2004; Safdar, Dupuis, Lewis, El-Geledi, & Bourhis, 2008). Most participants in these studies are undergraduate students for whom strong endorsement of individualism and integrationism is concordant with the meritocratic and individualistic organizational culture of higher education institutions (Bourhis et al., 2009a). Similar endorsement of integrationism was obtained in other acculturation studies conducted with host community adolescents and adults in Europe (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2003; Rohman, Florack, & Piontkowski, 2006; Zagefka & Brown, 2002):

The IAM proposes that each acculturation orientation can be endorsed to varying degrees depending on key factors. The valued or devalued status of the immigrant communities being considered is one factor that can affect the level of endorsement of each acculturation orientation by host community members. The valued or devalued status of a group reflects the positive or negative stereotypes held by host community members toward immigrant groups. These stereotypes depend on the country of origin of immigrant groups, their socio-economic status, their perceived similarity with the culture and values of the host society, their perceived threat to the security of the host society, and their categorization as a “visible” or “non-visible” minority. For example, a host majority member may more strongly endorse the integrationist orientation toward a valued immigrant group than toward a devalued immigrant group whose religion, language, and values are seen to be very different. To date, studies in different parts of the world have confirmed that host majority members are more inclined to endorse welcoming acculturation orientations, such as individualism,

integrationism, and integrationism transformation, toward valued than devalued immigrants. Conversely, host majorities are more likely to endorse unwelcoming acculturation orientations, such as assimilationism, segregationism, and exclusionism, toward devalued immigrants than toward valued immigrants. (Barrette et al., 2004, 2005; Bourhis & Bougie, 1998; Bourhis & Dayan, 2004; Bourhis, Montaruli, El-Geledi, Harvey, & Barrette, 2010; Bourhis, Montreuil, Barrette, & Montaruli, 2009b, Bourhis et al., 2008, 2009a; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001, 2004; Montreuil et al., 2004; Safdar et al., 2008).

In the Quebec setting, it was found that host majority Quebec Francophones endorsed the integrationist, integrationist transformation, and individualist acculturation orientations toward White French speaking immigrants from France more than toward Arab Muslim immigrants. Conversely, they were more likely to endorse assimilationism, segregationism, and exclusionism toward devalued Arab Muslim immigrants than toward other French speaking immigrants from France (Bourhis et al., 2008; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001, 2004; Montreuil et al., 2004).

1.6 Arabs Muslims as a devalued immigrant group in Quebec

Ethnic Arabs have one of the world's highest birth rates and the population increase in Muslim countries is also one of the highest in the world. Currently, the twenty-one Arab countries of the world have a total population of 255 million people. The political instability in many of these countries has resulted in the out-migration of thousands of Arab peoples to other parts of the world, including Canada (Al-Krenawi & Graham, 2000). The West Asian and Arab adult community is expected to be the fastest growing visible minority in Canada, with the population in 2016 projected to be four times higher than in 1991 (Canadian Census, 2001). Quebec is the home to the largest number of Arabs in Canada (37.2%; Canadian Census, 2006). There are 109 000 Arabs in Quebec, representing 12.8% of the province's immigrant population and 2.8% of its total population. The top three countries of birth of Arabs who immigrate to Quebec are Lebanon (32.0%), Morocco (30.7%), and Algeria (27.1%). These countries represent Quebec's fifth, sixth, and seventh highest immigrant population, respectively. More than 85% of the Arabs in Quebec speak French; it

is the highest rate of French spoken by immigrants in the province after immigrants from France (MICC, 2009). Arabs thus contribute to the maintenance of the French speaking majority in Quebec. However, as a sizable proportion of immigrants from Arab countries are Muslims, they tend to be perceived negatively by Quebec Francophones who remain predominantly Roman Catholic (Antonius, 2002).

With the Arab Trade embargo that increased U.S. gasoline prices fourfold in the early 1970's, the bombing of the Marine barracks in Beirut in the mid 1980s, the 2001 suicide bombing of the World Trade Center in New York, and the more recent terrorist attacks in Madrid and London by Muslim Arab fundamentalists, Arab Muslims have become victims of negative stereotypes held by both the media and host majority members in the Western world (Antonius, 2002; Biles & Ibrahim, 2002; Helly, 2004; Sheridan, 2006). A number of studies and public opinion polls suggest that Arab Muslims are perceived as a devalued immigrant group in both Canada and Quebec (Berry & Kalin, 1995; Bourhis et al., 2008; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001, 2004; Montreuil et al., 2004). According to a 2002 public opinion survey, 45% of Quebecers, 37% of Albertans, 33% of Ontarians, and 22% of British-Colombia residents agreed with the statement: "The September 11 attacks made me more mistrustful of Arabs or Muslims coming from the Middle-East" (IPSOS-Reid, 2002, in Helly, 2004). Another survey conducted across Canada shortly after the 9/11 events showed that it was in the province of Quebec that people expressed the strongest Anti-Arab sentiment (Jedwab, 2003). A recent survey showed that 51% of Quebec Francophones had an unfavourable opinion of Muslims while similar perceptions were less likely to be expressed toward other religious groups such as Catholics (5%), immigrants in general (20%), and Jews (28%; Canadian Studies Association, 2009). A number of studies conducted in French colleges showed that Quebec Francophone undergraduates were the least comfortable with, felt more threatened by, wanted less contact with, and felt more intercultural anxiety in the presence of Arab Muslim immigrants than other visible minority immigrant groups including Haitians and West Indians (Bourhis et al., 2008; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001, 2004; Montreuil et al., 2004).

1.7 Attitudes toward the Islamic veil in Quebec

Following the events of 9/11, the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia anticipated a rise in Islamophobia¹ and implemented a system to record anti-Islamic reactions across the 15 European Union states. It was found that the single most important factor in determining who was to be a victim of an attack or infringement was visual appearance as a Muslim. The primary visual cue of being labeled a Muslim was the hijab worn by Muslim women (Allen & Nielsen, 2002).

What one wears in public serves social and political functions which symbolize an important ideological dimension of non-verbal communication (Gordon, Tengler, & Infante, 1982; Hoodfar, 2003, 2001; Morris, 1977). As with speech style, dress styles reveal certain category memberships such as the gender, geographical origin, religion, ethnic and linguistic origin, profession, and social class of the wearer (Abu-Luhod, 1986; Rugh, 1986; Thourlby, 1978). Like skin colour, ethnic origin, and gender, stereotypes about dress style can also be vigorous given the perceived voluntary nature of its adoption by individuals. The political and public debates surrounding wearing of the Islamic veil suggests that it serves much more than a personal religious affiliation.

Extensive qualitative research has sought to understand the Islamic veil from the perspective of the women who wear it (Alvi, Hoodfar, & McDonough, 2003). From the point of view of Muslim women settled in Western democracies, the veil can symbolize personal and collective identification with particular varieties of the Islamic faith but can also serve as a tool of social differentiation from the Christian mainstream (Hoodfar, 2001, 2003; Meshal, 2003). Alternatively, as shown with veiled women interviewed in Quebec and Ontario, the veil may serve to reassure the family that one remains loyal to the principles of Islam despite involvement in activities in the public domain that are considered unconventional for Muslim women such as leaving the parents home to pursue higher education (Hoodfar, 2003). Much

of the prevailing feelings in Quebec toward the Islamic veil have been widely surveyed in media and public opinion polls. However, besides a historically rich analysis of Quebec media portrayal of the Islamic veil (McDonough, 2003), little empirical research has been done on the actual perceptions of women who wear the Islamic veil in French Quebec. Given the social psychological focus of this thesis, a quantitative and experimental approach was used to explore Quebec Francophone majority attitudes and acculturation orientations toward the Islamic veil.

Before discussing host majority attitudes and reactions toward the Islamic veil as expressed in the media and in public opinion polls, it is useful to distinguish between types of Islamic dress which vary widely across the world (Hoodfar, 2001; see Figure 2). In line with a religious prescription in the Qur'an requiring women to dress modestly, most Muslim women wear a scarf covering only their hair, leaving the face visible. This has different names but is more commonly known, and will be referred to in this thesis, as the "hijab". Much less prevalent than the hijab, the "niqab" is prescribed mainly in Saudi Arabia and involves wearing a black cloth which covers the body and entire face, leaving only the eyes visible. Even more rare, the "burka" is prescribed mainly in Afghanistan and is an all enveloping robe which covers the entire body except for the eyes which are concealed behind a cross-hatched net (Hoodfar, 2001, 2003). In this thesis, the term Islamic veil will be used generically in referring to any form of Islamic head covering, but the correct terms described above will be used when referring to a specific item.

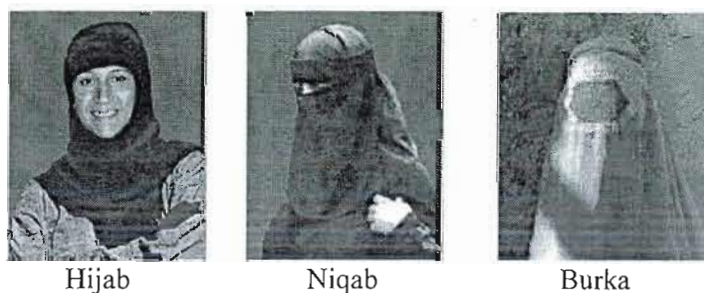


Figure 2. Types of Islamic veil

¹ *Islamophobia* is functionally similar to 'anti-Semitism' and to the more generic term xenophobia which refers to a fear, dislike, and hatred toward outgroups. Thus, Islamophobia refers to the dread or hatred of Islam and therefore a fear or dislike of Muslims (Sheridan, 2006)

Attitudes toward the niqab and the burqa are very negative in the EU (McGoldrick, 2006; Welch, 2007). Invoking public security concerns, Belgium adopted a law banning the niqab and burka in public settings in 2010. After banning the hijab in state schools in 2004, France is in the process of passing a law against wearing the niqab and burqa in public settings including hospitals, mass transit, and on the streets by the end of 2010. It also proposed that women who wear the niqab or burka in such public settings be fined a sum of 750 euros. In the United Kingdom, police women in some municipalities can wear the hijab and there are no laws against wearing of the niqab and burka. However, attempts have been made to ban such Islamic veils in British state schools and other public institutions (Welch, 2007).

A recent study measured Belgian host community attitudes toward the Islamic veil, subtle prejudice, and anti-Arab attitudes (Saroglou, Lamkaddem, van Pachterbeke, & Buxant, 2009). Results showed that willingness to ban the Islamic veil and being uncomfortable with its use were related to subtle prejudice against immigrants in general and high scores on the anti-Arab Western ethnocentrism scale. The researchers concluded that “aversion toward the veil thus seems to reflect both ethnic prejudice and anti-religious disposition” (p.427).

On June 2nd 2006, 17 Muslim men were arrested for allegedly planning to commit a series of terrorist attacks against Canadian targets in Toronto and Ottawa. The mass media coverage of the court appearances of the Muslim suspects included the presence of their female family members; most wearing the niqab, some the hijab. One Globe and Mail article had the headline “The ties that bind 17 suspects” above the photo of spouses wearing the niqab (see Figure 3; Bhattacharya, Gulamhusein, & Aly, 2006). Such coverage fosters negative attitudes toward all Arab Muslims and all women wearing the Islamic veil in Canada even though the convicted terrorists of 2006 constituted a very small proportion of the Arab population in the country.



Figure 3. Globe and Mail article, June 2, 2006

The wearing of the Islamic veil can be seen as the right of individuals to express religious freedom in a democratic society with its Charter of Rights and Freedom enshrined in the Canadian constitution and the Quebec Charter of Rights and Freedom. For host majority members less open to religious diversity, the Islamic veil can be seen as 1) a symbol of female subordination to Muslim men undermining the hard fought equal rights achieved by the women's movement of the last fifty years (Lepicq & Ciceri, 2001; McDonough, 2003); 2) a political symbol of the rising power of the religious fundamentalists in the Muslim world and in the diaspora (Gheadah, 2001), 3) a badge of religious separatism from the secular and/or Christian Quebec host majority mainstream, or 4) a refusal by Muslim women to integrate within mainstream Quebec society (Lepicq & Ciceri, 2001; McDonough, 2003).

The present research was conducted during a time when the Islamic veil issue was a controversial topic in Quebec as reflected in a series of media articles and surveys reporting public discontent regarding the integration of immigrants. One such survey conducted with a representative sample of the Quebec population (N = 1000) showed that 62% of Quebec Francophones believed that Muslim women who wear the Islamic veil pose a problem for living in Quebec society (Roy & Gagné, 2007). Another representative survey (N = 1003) found that 66% of Quebec Francophones did not agree with the statement: "young Muslim

girls should be allowed to wear the hijab in public schools” (Canadian studies association, 2009). In 2007, media articles and polls portraying Quebec Francophone discontent with reasonable accommodations² toward religious minorities led the premier of Quebec to establish a public Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences which tabled its final report in 2008 (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008). Public hearings shown on national TV during the Commission allowed less tolerant Quebec Francophones to voice negative attitudes toward immigrant minorities, including Arab Muslims wearing the Islamic veil.

Because the niqab and burka cover the whole face, public attitudes toward such Islamic veils are more negative than those toward the hijab. A 2007 survey showed that 94% of Quebec Francophones were in favour of banning women who wear the niqab from voting (Sondage SOM, 2007). In March 2010, a Muslim woman wearing the niqab was expelled from a French language course offered to new immigrants by the Quebec government at a college in Montreal. Following this incident, the Quebec government proposed Bill 94 which requires public employees, such as education and health workers, as well as citizens seeking government services to uncover their faces. A recent Canadian public opinion poll showed that 95% of Quebecers- and 80% of all Canadians- supported this provincial ban on the niqab (Angus Reid Public Opinion, 2010).

² Reasonable accommodation “stems from labour-related jurisprudence. [It] designates a form of arrangement or relaxation aimed at combating the discrimination that a seemingly neutral norm can bring about in its effect, usually an infringement of an individual's right to equality. In [public discourse], the meaning of the concept has gone beyond this legal definition and encompasses all forms of arrangements allowed by managers in public or private institutions in respect of students, patients, customers, employees, and so on” (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008, p.7).

1.8 Presentation of the two articles

All studies measuring host community acculturation orientations using the HCAS were conducted by experimenters whose ethnic group membership was the same as that of the participants. Therefore, completing the HCAS has always been done in an intragroup classroom setting. Under those circumstances, a basic premise of the IAM was developed which states that acculturation orientations are more stable and more strongly and deeply embedded cognitively and emotionally than less stable intergroup attitudes (Bourhis et al., 2009b). However, no study to date has tested this basic premise by manipulating the category membership of the experimenter as a single or double outgroup³ member as opposed to an ingroup member. The main goal of the present thesis is to use the Islamic veil to test this basic premise of the IAM. More specifically, the thesis is composed of two research articles that include two controlled-classroom-experiments and a field study to test the impact of the hijab and the niqab on the ethnic attitudes, acculturation orientations, and helping behaviour of Quebec Francophone undergraduates toward devalued Arab Muslim immigrants.

Before testing the impact of the different types of Islamic veils on Quebec Francophone attitudes and acculturation orientations, it was necessary to assess attitudes toward the hijab and niqab relative to other dress styles. Using a paper-and-pencil questionnaire, Study 1 was designed to explore attitudes toward women in photos wearing the hijab and niqab relative to other dress codes such as western style clothing and a woman dressed as a Catholic nun.

³ Outgroups refer to the groups that an individual does not belong to. The ingroup refers to the group membership of an individual.

The second study manipulated religious dress code and ethnicity in a controlled-classroom-experiment to test the stability of acculturation orientations compared to ethnic attitudes toward Arab Muslim immigrants. A questionnaire containing the HCAS and numerous attitude scales was distributed to 345 Quebec Francophone undergraduates during class time. The same female experimenter distributed the questionnaires in the following four experimental conditions: 1) control condition with experimenter wearing western style clothing and with a Francophone name (ingroup membership); 2) Arab condition with experimenter wearing the same western clothing as in the control condition, but with an Arab Muslim name (single outgroup membership: ethnicity); 3) hijab condition with experimenter wearing the hijab and with the same Arab Muslim name (double outgroup membership: ethnicity and religiosity); 4) niqab condition with experimenter wearing the niqab and with the same Arab Muslim name as previous two conditions (double outgroup membership: ethnicity and religiosity). Based on these experimental manipulations, Study 2 addressed the following two research questions:

1. Will attitudes toward the female experimenter dressed in the secular and religious dress codes be concordant with attitudes toward the secular and religious women portrayed in photos in Study 1?
2. Based on the premise of the IAM, will the ethnicity and religious dress code of the experimenter have more of an impact on ethnic attitudes than endorsement of acculturation orientations toward Arab Muslim immigrants?
 - a. Will acculturation orientations toward Arab Muslim immigrants remain stable regardless of the experimenter's ethnicity and dress code?
 - b. Will attitudes toward Arab Muslim immigrants vary depending on the ethnicity and dress code of the experimenter?

The third study tested the impact of the Islamic veil on the stability of Quebec Francophone acculturation orientations and helping behaviour in a field study. Negative attitudes toward the Islamic veil have been shown to be related to negative behavioural consequences toward Muslims (Unkelbach, Forgas, & Denson, 2008). Thus, to the degree that Quebec Francophones harbour negative attitudes toward women who wear the Islamic veil and Arab Muslims, their behaviour toward women who wear the Islamic veil should be concordant with such negative attitudes. An indirect and candid measure of negative attitudes toward the veil is helping behaviour (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Hendren & Blank, 2009). A number of studies on intergroup helping behaviour have shown that individuals are more likely to help members of their own group than to help members of an outgroup (Bourhis & Giles, 1976; Bourhis & Gagnon, 2001; Dovidio, Gaertner, Validzic, Motoka, Johnson, & Frazer, 1997; Wegner & Crano, 1975). The classic helping behaviour research also showed that as costs increase, helping decreases (for review see, Dovidio, 1984; Penner, Dovidio, Piliavin, & Schroeder, 2005). When cost is low, ingroup vs. outgroup category membership is less likely to predict intergroup helping. However, when the cost of helping is high, the category membership of helpers and recipients should better predict helping behaviour: individuals are more likely to help ingroup than outgroup others.

Based on these intergroup helping principles, the field study had two phases. In phase 1, Quebec Francophone undergraduates ($N = 323$) were randomly approached by a female experimenter who voiced a plea for directions in either English or French, wearing either western style clothing, a hijab, or a niqab. In phase 2, a White female confederate approached the same participants and asked them in French to complete a questionnaire, which included the HCAS. The experimenter asking for directions to the university bookstore involved a low cost helping behaviour from undergraduates who could provide verbal directions in less than a minute. However, helping the confederate in phase 2 involved a higher cost for the respondents as it consisted of completing a two-page questionnaire. Based on this research design, the field study addressed the following two research questions:

1. How will the religious and linguistic prime manipulations affect the intergroup helping behaviour of Quebec Francophones?
2. Will the low vs. high cost of helping combined with the religious and linguistic category memberships influence the intergroup helping behaviour of Quebec Francophones?
3. Can the more stable and deeply processed acculturation orientations toward immigrants be affected by the religious dress code and linguistic membership of the female experimenter?

Taken together, the three studies proposed in this thesis are conceptually and methodologically complementary. They allow a better understanding of the relationship between acculturation orientations, group category differences based on language and religion, and helping behaviour in a multilingual and multi-religious setting, such as Quebec.

CHAPITRE II

ARTICLE 1

Testing the impact of the Islamic veil on intergroup attitudes and host community
acculturation orientations toward Arab Muslims

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Abstract

The Islamic veil was used to test the stability of host community acculturation orientations toward Arab Muslims. Study 1 investigated Quebec Francophone ($N = 76$) attitudes toward the Islamic veil. Results revealed that undergraduates had the least favorable attitudes toward a woman wearing a niqab followed by one wearing the hijab, while favorable attitudes were held toward a woman dressed in western style clothing. Relative to a western dress control condition, Study 2 tested the hypothesis that acculturation orientations would be less affected by Islamic veil dress conditions than would attitudes toward Arab Muslim immigrants. The same female experimenter distributed survey questionnaires in the following experimental conditions: 1) control condition, experimenter wearing western clothing with Francophone name ($n = 86$); 2) experimenter wearing western clothing with an Arab Muslim name ($n = 83$); 3) experimenter wearing a hijab with an Arab Muslim name ($n = 81$); and 4) experimenter wearing a niqab with an Arab Muslim name ($n = 95$). Results showed that experimental conditions did not affect endorsement of five out of six acculturation orientations attesting to the psychological stability of acculturation orientations. Attitudes toward Arab Muslims were affected by the dress code of the experimenter, but not in the expected direction. Participants had more favorable attitudes toward Arab Muslims in the niqab condition than in the control condition, a result partially accounted by a counterstereotype effect.

Key words: acculturation, host community, interactive acculturation model, Arab Muslim, immigrants, Islamic veil, hijab, niqab, counterstereotype

Testing the impact of the Islamic veil on intergroup attitudes and host community acculturation orientations toward Arab Muslims

Acculturation is defined as the process of bi-directional change that takes place between host community members and immigrants who experience sustained intercultural contact. Acculturation therefore implies that dominant as well as non-dominant cultural groups are influenced and transformed by their mutual intercultural contacts (Sam, 2006).

In the last decade, research has not only focused on the importance of immigrant adaptation strategies but also on those host community members would like immigrants to endorse. The Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM) integrates within the same conceptual framework the following elements: (1) acculturation orientations of immigrants established in the host society, (2) acculturation orientations of host community members toward immigrants, and (3) harmonious to conflictual intergroup outcomes resulting from combinations of immigrant and host community acculturation orientations (Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997). As a complement to other acculturation frameworks, the IAM focuses on the *cultural adoption strategies* of immigrant and host majority members rather than on their dual group identities or desires for intergroup contact (e.g., Arends-Toth & Van de Vijver, 2006; Berry, 1997; Liebkind, 2006; Van Oudenhoven, Ward & Masgoret, 2006).

Acculturation orientations are defined as a combination of attitudes, beliefs, and behavioral intentions that guide the way people think and behave. A basic premise of the IAM is that acculturation orientations are more stable and more strongly and deeply embedded cognitively and emotionally than intergroup attitudes (Bourhis, Montreuil, Barrette, & Montaruli, 2009a). The main goal of the present studies was to test this premise. We used the Islamic veil as a religious prime manipulation to test the psychological stability of Quebec Francophone host majority acculturation orientations.

Acculturation orientations of host community members

The IAM proposes that members of the host community may endorse six acculturation orientations toward different immigrant groups. *Integrationism* is endorsed by host community members who accept that immigrants maintain some aspects of their heritage culture and also accept that immigrants adopt important features of the host majority

culture. *Integrationism transformation* is endorsed by members of the majority group who not only endorse the integrationist acculturation orientation, but also wish to change aspects of host majority customs and institutional procedures in order to accommodate the cultural needs of immigrant communities. *Assimilationism* corresponds to the traditional concept of absorption whereby host community members expect immigrants to relinquish their language and cultural identity for the sake of adopting the culture and language of the dominant host majority. *Segregationism* refers to host community members who accept that immigrants maintain their heritage culture as long as immigrants keep their distance from host community members, as they do not wish immigrants to transform or dilute the host culture. Segregationists prefer immigrants to remain together in separate urban/regional enclaves, and are ambivalent regarding the status of immigrants as rightful members of the host society. *Exclusionists* deny immigrants the right to adopt features of the host community culture. They also deny immigrants the choice to maintain their heritage language, culture or religion and believe that some immigrants have customs and values that can never be socially incorporated within the host majority mainstream. *Individualists* define themselves and others as persons rather than as members of group categories. Because it is personal qualities and individual achievements that count most, individualists will tend to interact with immigrants in the same way they would with other individuals who happen to be members of the host community. These acculturation orientations are measured using the validated Host Community Acculturation Scale (HCAS; Barrette, Bourhis, Capozza, & Hichy, 2005; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001).

Overall, research using the IAM show that host community undergraduates in North America and Western Europe endorse Individualism and Integrationism more than Assimilationism, Segregationism, and Exclusionism (Bourhis et al., 2009a). Most participants in these studies are undergraduate students for whom strong endorsement of Individualism and Integrationism is concordant with the meritocratic and individualistic organizational culture of higher education institutions (Bourhis, Barrette, El-Geledi & Schmidt, 2009b). Similar endorsement of Integrationism was obtained in other acculturation studies conducted with host community adolescents

and adults (Zagefka & Brown, 2002; Rohman, Florack, & Piontkowski, 2006; Navas, Fernández, Rojas, & García, 2007).

Attitudes toward Arab Muslim immigrants

Since the September 11th terrorist attacks in New York and Washington and recent terrorist attacks in Madrid and London by Muslim fundamentalists, Arab Muslim communities have become the target of negative stereotypes in the media and by host majority members in the Western world (Biles & Ibrahim, 2002). In Canada, a national survey showed that while 45% of Canadians believe Islam encourages violence, as many as 63% of Quebec Francophones endorse this view (Geddes, 2009).

Quebec is the home to the largest number of Arabs in Canada (37.2%). There are 109,000 Arab people in Quebec, representing 12.8% of the province's immigrant population and 2.8% of its total population (Canadian Census, 2006). More than 85% of the Arabs in Quebec speak French; it is the highest rate of French spoken by immigrants in the province after immigrants from France. Arabs thus contribute to the maintenance of the French speaking majority in Quebec. However, as a sizable proportion of immigrants from Arab countries are Muslims, they tend to be perceived negatively by Quebec Francophones who remain predominantly Roman Catholic (Antonius, 2002). Studies conducted in French colleges in Quebec showed that Quebec Francophones were least comfortable with Arab Muslims and evaluated them less favorably than other immigrant groups, while feeling more threatened by their presence than by other immigrant groups including Haitians and West Indians (Bourhis, Barrette, & Moriconi, 2008; Montreuil, Bourhis, & Vanbeselaere, 2004).

Attitudes toward the Islamic veil

What one wears in public serves social and political functions which symbolize an important ideological dimension of non-verbal communication. As with speech style, dress styles can serve as a marker of gender, geographical origin, religious affiliation, ethnic origin, profession, and social class (Hoodfar, 2003). Like skin color, ethnic origin, and gender, stereotypes about dress style can also be vigorous given the perceived voluntary nature of its adoption by individuals.

Hoodfar (2001) provided descriptions of different Islamic veils used across the Muslim world. In line with religious prescriptions requiring women to dress modestly, many

Muslim women wear a scarf covering their hair, but not the face; a veil commonly known as the “hijab”. The “niqab” is prescribed mainly in Saudi Arabia and is a black cloth covering the whole body and entire face, leaving only the eyes visible. The “burka” is prescribe mainly in Afghanistan and is an all enveloping robe which covers the entire body except for the eyes which are concealed behind a cross-hatched net. In this article, the term Islamic veil will be used generically in referring to these three forms of Islamic head covering, but the correct terms described above will be used when referring to a specific type of veil.

In the Quebec setting, the Islamic veil triggers strong reactions and emotions and is often seen as a religious symbol challenging fundamental French Canadian values. The Islamic veil is also seen as a threat to the hard fought equal rights achieved by the women’s movement of the last fifty years as well as the secular gains achieved in Quebec after a century of struggle against the domination of the Catholic Church (McDonough, 2003). Some also perceive the veil as a political symbol of the rising power of religious fundamentalism in the Muslim world, while others perceive it as a refusal by Muslim women to integrate within mainstream Quebec society.

The present studies were conducted during a time when the Islamic veil issue was a very controversial topic in Quebec politics. A public opinion survey showed that 62% of Quebec Francophones believed that Muslim women who wear the Islamic veil pose a problem for Quebec society (N = 1000; Roy & Gagné, 2007). Another survey found that 57% of respondents thought the Quebec government should ban religious signs such as the Islamic veil worn by some civil servants in the public administration (N=1002; Castonguay, 2010).

Because the niqab and burka cover the whole face, public attitudes toward such face veils are more negative than those toward the hijab. In Montreal, a Muslim woman wearing the niqab was expelled from a French language course offered to new immigrants by the Quebec government. Following this incident, the Quebec government proposed Bill 94 banning the niqab and burqa from the public administration, schools, and hospitals. A recent Canadian public opinion poll showed that 95% of Quebecers and 80% of Canadians supported this provincial ban on the niqab (Angus Reid Public Opinion, 2010).

Attitudes toward the niqab and the burqa are also very negative in the European Union (Welch, 2007). For example, after banning the veil in the school system in 2004, France is set to ban the burqa and niqab in public settings including hospitals, mass transit, and on the streets by the end of 2010. Belgium also adopted a law banning the niqab and burqa in public settings in 2010. A recent study measured Belgian host majority attitudes toward the Islamic veil, subtle prejudice, and anti-Arab attitudes (Saroglou, Lamkaddem, van Pachterbeke, & Buxant, 2009). Results showed that willingness to ban the veil and being uncomfortable with its use were related to subtle prejudice against immigrants in general and high scores on the anti-Arab Western ethnocentrism scale. The researchers concluded that "aversion toward the veil thus seems to reflect both ethnic prejudice and anti-religious disposition" (p.427).

Given the contentious issue of the Islamic veil in Quebec and Europe, we used it to test the stability of host community acculturation orientations. Study 1 was designed to assess attitudes toward the Islamic veil endorsed by Quebec Francophone undergraduates. Study 2 investigated the stability of acculturation orientations endorsed by Quebec Francophones toward Arab Muslim immigrants following a religious dress code manipulation using the Islamic veil. The impact of the Islamic veil manipulation was expected to be more sustained on attitudes toward ethnic minorities than on endorsement of acculturation orientations.

Study 1

Participants completed a questionnaire containing photos of a woman dressed in western style clothing, dressed as a nun, wearing a hijab, and wearing a niqab. As seen in Figure 1, the photos consisted of the same computer generated face portrayed in the different dress guises. Undergraduates were asked to give their first impressions of each woman depicted in the photos. We expected attitudes to vary depending on the dress code of the stimulus women. The White woman in the photo wearing western clothing was the most similar to Quebec Francophones and could be perceived as an ingroup member. Consequently, Francophone undergraduates were expected to have the most favorable attitudes toward the woman dressed in western clothing.

We included a picture of a woman dressed as a Catholic nun because Catholicism was an important dimension of French Canadian identity and it was only a generation ago that Quebec pupils were taught by veiled Catholic nuns (McDonough, 2003). Given few Quebec Francophones identify with Catholicism, we expected attitudes toward the woman dressed as a nun to be less favorable than toward the woman wearing western clothing, but more favorable than the women wearing the hijab and niqab who are religiously and ethnically dissimilar from Quebec Francophones.

We expected Quebec Francophone attitudes toward the Muslim woman wearing the hijab to be less favorable than their attitudes toward the woman wearing western attire and the woman dressed as a Catholic nun. Finally, based on the controversial issue of the niqab in Quebec, we expected Francophone undergraduates to have the least favorable attitudes toward the woman wearing the niqab. A woman wearing the hijab is more familiar in the Montreal religious landscape than a woman wearing the niqab. By virtue of covering the whole face other than the eyes, the niqab represents a more extreme manifestation of religious difference. Despite sustained alarmist media attention, estimates are that less than 30 women actually wear the niqab in Montreal (Ouimet, 2007).

Method

Participants

Seventy-six (76) Quebec Francophone undergraduates attending l'Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM) participated in Study 1. The mean age of the students was 22.7 years ($SD = 3.0$); 32 were male and 44 were female. All participants were born in Quebec or Canada, had French as their mother tongue, and self-identified as Quebec Francophone host majority members. All respondents had both of their parents born in Quebec and had French as their mother tongue.

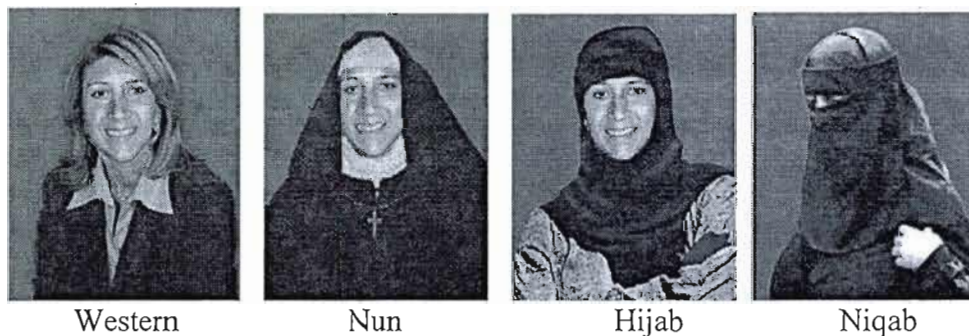
Procedure

A White French Canadian male experimenter dressed in western style clothing distributed French language questionnaires to UQAM undergraduates during class time. Following the instructional set voiced in French, participants completed the 30 minute questionnaire during class time, returned the questionnaire to the experimenter, and were debriefed in class.

Questionnaire measures

Black and white photos of the same computer generated image of a White female in the following attire were shown to participants: western clothing, nun clothing, wearing a hijab, wearing a niqab (see Figure 1). Participants rated on a 7-point Likert scale (1= *Never / None*; 7= *Always / All*) each of the photos on the following items: "How often have you personally seen women dressed this way on the street, in stores, at University, or in health clinics?" and "How many women dressed this way do you personally have as a friend or a colleague?" These two items were used to assess how familiar Francophone undergraduates were with women in each of the four dress codes. Respondents also rated to what extent they liked the way each woman in the photos was dressed.

Figure 1. Photos of same computer generated image of female dressed in different dress codes.



Attitudes toward each stimulus photo were measured on a 7-point Likert Scale (1 = *Not at all*, 7 = *Enormously*) using the following eight items: religious, attractive, friendly, trustworthy, passive, threatening, intelligent, and competent. More general ethnic attitudes toward different immigrant groups in Quebec were also measured using the "thermometer" scale ranging from 0° (*very unfavorable*) to 100° (*very favorable*; Esses, Haddock, & Zanna, 1993). Favorability ratings were obtained for the following groups: Quebec Francophones, Quebec Anglophones, French immigrants, Chinese immigrants, Haitian immigrants and Arab Muslim immigrants. An intergroup bias score was computed for each target group in the following manner. First, an overall favorability score was computed toward all ethnic outgroups other than Quebec Francophones. Then, the overall attitude toward outgroups was

subtracted from the score given by a respondent for each target group. These difference scores were used as measures of intergroup bias toward each target group. A positive score indicates that the target group was more favorably rated than all outgroups taken together, while a negative score meant that the target group was less favorably rated than all the ethnic outgroups taken together.

Results

A 2 (gender) X 4 (dress code) repeated measure ANOVA was conducted for each of the variables. No significant interactions with gender were found. There were also no main effects of gender except where mentioned. Main effects of dress code and Post-hoc results are reported below as well as in Table 1.

Table 1. Study 1: Ratings of women in different dress code (photos; N = 76)

| | western | nun | hijab | niqab | <i>F</i> tests (3, 222) | η^2 |
|----------------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|----------------------------|----------|
| | M (sd) | | | | | |
| <i>Familiarity with veil</i> | | | | | | |
| Frequency of seeing | 6.67 (0.53) a | 2.67 (1.18) c | 4.63 (1.13) b | 1.87 (1.04) d | 427.03*** | .85 |
| <i>-dresscodes</i> | | | | | | |
| Know friends who wear dresscodes | 5.32 (1.46) a | 1.17 (.58) c | 1.79 (1.10) b | 1.04 (.20) c | 344.03*** | .82 |
| <i>Rating of women in photos</i> | | | | | | |
| Like way dressed | 4.59 (1.63) a | 1.92 (1.45) c | 3.04 (1.68) b | 1.50 (1.19) d | 89.67*** | .55 |
| Religious | 2.88 (1.21) d | 6.83 (0.77) a | 5.68 (1.22) c | 6.41 (1.08) b | 239.76*** | .76 |
| Attractive | 5.33 (1.29) a | 3.01 (1.85) c | 4.32 (1.62) b | 2.20 (1.76) d | 101.54*** | .57 |
| Friendly | 5.79 (0.98) a | 5.57 (1.40) a | 5.66 (1.05) a | 4.00 (1.70) b | 58.40*** | .44 |
| Competent | 5.96 (0.94) a | 5.38 (1.36) b | 5.61 (1.08) b | 4.63 (1.61) c | 28.62*** | .28 |
| Trustworthy | 5.62 (1.15) ab | 5.82 (1.30) a | 5.36 (1.21) b | 4.82 (1.82) c | 11.64*** | .14 |
| Intelligent | 5.67 (1.10) a | 5.18 (1.37) b | 5.47 (1.06) ab | 4.84 (1.55) c | 16.61*** | .18 |
| Passive | 3.33 (2.06) c | 4.24 (2.06) ab | 4.03 (1.95) b | 4.62 (2.01) a | 13.55*** | .15 |
| Threatening | 1.67 (1.23) b | 1.57 (1.37) b | 1.70 (1.18) b | 2.39 (1.80) a | 9.06*** | .11 |

Note. Scores range from 1 (totally disagree) to 7 (totally agree). Repeated measure ANOVAs, F tests represent main effect significant at * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$. Post-hoc analyses with a Bonferroni correction are indicated through alphabetical symbols (a b c); mean scores on a same row that do not share a common alphabetical subscript differ at $p < .05$ (a > b > c).

Familiarity with Islamic veil. As seen in Table 1, Quebec Francophones reported mostly seeing women dressed in western style clothing in public settings ($M = 6.7$). They sometimes saw women wearing the hijab ($M = 4.6$). However, they seldom saw Catholic nuns ($M = 2.7$) and they almost never saw women wearing the niqab ($M = 1.9$) in public settings.

Analyses showed that participants liked the attire of the woman wearing the niqab ($M = 1.5$) the least, followed by the nun ($M = 1.9$) and the woman wearing the hijab ($M = 3.0$). They moderately liked the dress style of the woman in western clothing ($M = 4.6$). Participants reported having mostly friends dressed in western clothing ($M = 5.3$), but almost no friends wearing the hijab ($M = 1.8$) and no friends who were nuns ($M = 1.2$) or wore the niqab ($M = 1.0$).

Attitudes toward different dress codes. As seen in Table 1, results showed that participants rated the woman dressed as a nun as the most religious ($M = 6.8$), followed by the woman wearing the niqab ($M = 6.4$). The woman wearing the hijab was rated as highly religious ($M = 5.7$), while the woman dressed in western clothing was rated as not very religious ($M = 2.9$). These results confirm that the stimulus photos were efficient in depicting women in religious vs western dress code. In terms of attractiveness, they rated the woman wearing the niqab as the least attractive ($M = 2.2$) followed by the woman dressed as a nun ($M = 3.0$). The woman wearing the hijab was rated somewhat attractive ($M = 4.3$) while the woman dressed in western clothing ($M = 5.3$) was perceived as most attractive. A main effect for gender, $F(1, 74) = 6.57, p < .001, \eta^2 = .89$, showed that female participants rated the women in the photos more attractive ($M = 4.0$) than did male participants ($M = 3.3$) regardless of dress code conditions.

Participants rated the woman wearing the niqab as less friendly ($M = 4.0$), less competent ($M = 4.6$), less trustworthy ($M = 4.8$), and less intelligent ($M = 4.8$) than the other women depicted in the photos (Western: $M_s = 5.8, 6.0, 5.6$ and 5.7 ; Nun: $M_s = 5.6, 5.4, 5.8$ and 5.2 ; Hijab: $M_s = 5.7, 5.6, 5.4$ and 5.5 , respectively). There was also a main effect of gender for these variables: friendly: $F(1, 74) = 9.22, p = .003, \eta^2 = .96$; competent: $F(1, 74) = 7.23, p = .009, \eta^2 = .97$; trustworthy: $F(1, 74) = 7.29, p = .009, \eta^2 = .96$; and intelligent: $F(1, 74) = 5.76, p = .019, \eta^2 = .96$. Female participants found the women in the photos more

friendly ($M = 5.5$), competent ($M = 5.6$), trustworthy ($M = 5.7$), and intelligent ($M = 5.5$) than did male participants ($M_s = 4.9, 5.0, 5.0, \text{ and } 5.0$, respectively) regardless of dress code.

Participants rated the woman wearing the niqab ($M = 4.6$) and the woman dressed as a nun ($M = 4.2$) as more passive than the woman dressed in western clothing ($M = 3.3$). Quebec Francophone participants did not feel any of the women depicted in the photos were particularly threatening ($M = 1.9$). They did think that the woman in the photos wearing western clothing ($M = 1.7$), dressed as a nun ($M = 1.6$) and wearing the hijab ($M = 1.7$) were less threatening than the woman wearing the niqab ($M = 2.4$).

Ethnic attitudes toward immigrants. Replicating previous results, ethnic attitudes calculated as difference scores showed the classic ingroup favoritism effect (Brown, 1995). Francophone undergraduates expressed strong ingroup favoritism as is evident of their highly favorable rating of Quebec Francophones ($M = 13.96$). They reported more favorable attitudes toward immigrants from France ($M = 4.31$) than toward Haitian immigrants ($M = -1.77$), Chinese immigrants ($M = -2.62$) and Quebec Anglophones ($M = -5.33$). As predicted, participants expressed the least favorable attitudes toward Arab Muslim immigrants ($M = -8.54$) — One-way ANOVA $F(5, 375) = 22.87, p < .001$:

Pearson's correlation coefficient was used to test if attitudes toward the Islamic veil were related to attitudes toward Arab Muslim immigrants on the Thermometer scale. We collapsed the favorable attitudes items —attractive, friendly, trustworthy, intelligent, and competent— used in the rating of the dress codes (western, nun, hijab, and niqab) to create a “favorable attitudes” score. Each computed variable yielded an acceptable internal consistency for the rating of the western photo ($\alpha = .83$), the nun photo ($\alpha = .74$), the hijab photo ($\alpha = .87$), and the niqab photo ($\alpha = .88$). Results showed no significant correlation between attitudes toward Arab Muslim immigrants and their favorable attitudes toward the woman wearing western clothing and the woman dressed as a nun in the photos. However, results revealed a significant positive correlation between negative attitudes toward Arab Muslim immigrants and unfavorable attitudes toward the woman in the photos wearing the hijab ($r(74) = .42, p < .001$) and the woman wearing the niqab ($r(74) = .32, p < .001$).

Discussion

As predicted, Francophone undergraduates had the least favorable attitudes toward the woman in the photo when she was wearing the niqab. These results are concordant with the wider debate concerning the niqab and the results obtained in public opinion surveys across Quebec. Overall, Quebec Francophones in Study 1 did not have favorable attitudes toward Arab Muslims and the Islamic veil. Could such results be accounted by the fact that participants were not familiar with women wearing the niqab? Pearson's correlation coefficient between familiarity with the niqab and favorable attitudes toward the woman wearing the niqab confirmed this hypothesis. The more Quebec Francophones reported seeing women who wore the niqab the more favorable were their attitudes toward them ($r(74) = .248, p = .030$).

As predicted, participants had more favorable attitudes toward the woman wearing the hijab than the one wearing the niqab; and less favorable attitudes toward the woman wearing the hijab than the woman dressed in western clothing. Correlation results confirmed that negative attitudes toward the hijab and the niqab were related with their unfavorable attitudes toward Arab Muslim immigrants. Results obtained in Belgium also revealed that negative attitudes toward Arab Muslims were related with unfavorable ratings of the Islamic veil (Saroglou et al., 2009).

Contrary to our hypothesis, Quebec Francophones did not rate the woman dressed as a nun more favorably than the woman wearing the hijab. In fact, favorability ratings were slightly higher toward the Muslim hijab ($M = 5.3$) than the Catholic nun attire ($M = 5.0$; Bonferroni, $p = .028$). These results may reflect Quebec's recent secularization following decades of control by the Catholic Church until the late 1950s. Ambivalent attitudes towards the woman wearing the Catholic veil may be linked with this memory of Catholic supremacy opposing the emancipation of women in Quebec society.

In sum, Quebec Francophone undergraduates had especially unfavorable attitudes toward the niqab compared to the western clothing, nun clothing, and the hijab. Would Quebec Francophones express the same unfavorable attitudes toward the Islamic veil if they were in the presence of a Muslim woman wearing either a hijab or a niqab? Study 2 explored

this issue especially as it related to the endorsement of acculturation orientations toward Arab Muslims.

Study 2

The main goal of Study 2 was to test the stability of acculturation orientations relative to more fickle attitudes toward devalued immigrants. Using Francophone host majority respondents, we expected that variations in the western vs Islamic dress code of a female experimenter would be more likely to affect negative attitudes toward Arab Muslims than would be the case for more deeply processed acculturation orientations toward outgroups.

Religious dress code was manipulated in four experimental conditions. In the first condition, Quebec Francophone participants were in the presence of a female experimenter dressed in western style clothing who had a Quebec Francophone name⁴ (control condition). The experimenter in this condition shared a double category membership with Quebec Francophone undergraduates. She was dressed similarly to them and shared their ethnicity as she had a French Canadian name and voiced the instructional set in French. In the second condition, the same female experimenter wore the same western clothing as in the control condition and also provided the instructional set in French, but had an Arab name⁵ (Arab condition). In this case the female experimenter wore similar western clothing as Quebec Francophones and spoke French but was ethnically different with an Arab name. In the third condition, the experimenter wore a hijab and had the same Arab name as in the Arab condition. Though also providing the instructional set in French, the experimenter in this condition could be categorized as a double outgroup member for Quebec Francophones by virtue of both her Arab ethnicity and salient Muslim religious affiliation. In the fourth condition, the experimenter voiced the instructional set in French but wore a niqab and had the same Arab name as in the Arab and hijab conditions. The experimenter could again be seen as having a double outgroup membership relative to Quebec Francophone participants by virtue of her Arab name and strong Muslim religious identification.

⁴ Anne-Marie Vaillancourt

⁵ Khadijah Mohamed Alhamadani

Our first hypothesis was based on the premise that acculturation orientations are more stable and more strongly and deeply embedded cognitively and emotionally than attitudes about outgroups (Bourhis et al., 2009a). We expected differential endorsement of the six acculturation orientations toward Arab Muslim to be constant regardless of the religious background of the experimenter depicted in the four experimental conditions.

Though the experimenter portrayed the study as a survey questionnaire dealing with general opinions about a broad range of social themes in Quebec society, numerous items dealt with perceptions of the experimenter portrayed in the four experimental conditions. Such items were used to explore the concordance of attitudes towards women wearing the Islamic veil obtained in Study 1 (photos) with those obtained in Study 2 with the experimenter actually wearing the hijab and the niqab in the presence of respondents. Note that in Study 2 no comment or meta-communication were ever voiced by the experimenter concerning her dress code or religious affiliation.

Our second hypothesis was that Francophone undergraduates in Study 2 would endorse unfavorable attitudes toward the experimenter wearing the hijab or the niqab (a real life stimuli) as did Francophone undergraduates in Study 1 who rated such veiled women in the stimulus photos. We expected participants to endorse the most favorable attitudes toward the experimenter in the control condition. Next, based on public opinion polls, we expected participants to have less favorable attitudes toward the experimenter in the Arab condition. Based on results obtained in Study 1, we expected participants to have even less favorable attitudes toward the experimenter when she wore the hijab than in the Arab condition when she was dressed in western clothing with an Arab Muslim name. Finally, participants were expected to endorse the least favorable attitudes toward the experimenter when she wore the niqab.

Study 1 showed that negative attitudes toward the hijab and the niqab were correlated with negative attitudes toward Arab Muslims. In Study 2, we hypothesized that being in the presence of the experimenter wearing the hijab or niqab could prime more negative attitudes toward Arab Muslims than would be the case in the control and Arab conditions. Furthermore, studies have shown that feelings of symbolic threat can lead to stronger prejudice against devalued outgroups (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). In a recent study

also conducted in Quebec, results showed that the more symbolically threatened Francophone undergraduates felt the more polarized were their negative attitudes toward devalued vs valued immigrants (Montreuil et al., 2004). To the degree that Quebec Francophones would feel more threatened by the presence of women who wear the Islamic veil than those who do not, our third hypothesis was that attitudes toward Arab Muslim immigrants would be less favorable in the hijab and niqab conditions than in the control and Arab conditions.

Method

Participants

Francophone undergraduates who took part in Study 2 attended the same university as participants in Study 1, namely UQAM. A total of 345 undergraduates participated and their average age was 25.2 years old ($SD = 5.8$). The control condition included 86 participants (66 females, 20 males); the Arab condition included 83 participants (67 females, 16 males); the hijab condition included 81 participants (60 females, 21 males); and the niqab condition included 95 participants (76 females, 19 males). All respondents included in the study were born in Québec or Canada and had both parents also born in Canada. All undergraduates, and at least one of their parents, had French as a first language. The majority of participants (71%) reported a Catholic or a Christian religious background, and the other 29% reported being atheist, agnostic or without religion.

Procedure

Using a face to face variant of the matched guise technique (Bourhis, Montaruli, & Amiot, 2007), the same French speaking Arab Muslim female experimenter distributed a questionnaire during normal class time at university in the four dress code conditions. The use of the same female experimenter for the four experimental conditions controlled for the physical attractiveness of the experimenter's face and body, her non-verbal behavior as well as the paralinguistic features of her voice (pitch, voice quality, speech rate) and her speech style cues including elocution and accent in French. In the control condition, she was dressed in western clothing and introduced herself in French and wrote her French Canadian name on the black board. In the Arab, hijab, and niqab conditions the experimenter introduced herself

by first voicing and writing her name in Arabic (خديجة محمد الحمدانى : right to left) and then writing it in French (Khadijah Mohamed Alhamadani: left to right) on the black board.

Next, the experimenter distributed to each participant a folder containing a consent form, an instruction sheet, and two questionnaires: the HCAS questionnaire for respondents who self-categorised as Quebec Francophone host community members and an IAS questionnaire for respondents who self-categorised as immigrants. Only HCAS questionnaires obtained from participants who self-categorized as Quebec Francophone host majority members were included in the present study. Participants completed the questionnaires during class time, which took approximately 60 minutes to complete. Once all the participants within a session completed the questionnaires, the experimenter debriefed them during class time.

Questionnaire measures

The questionnaire consisted of three parts. The first included sociodemographic information and the HCAS. The second included various psychosocial scales. The third consisted of manipulation check items. All variables were measured using a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *not at all* or *do not agree at all*; 7 = *very much* or *strongly agree*).

Acculturation orientations. Respondents completed the Host Community Acculturation Scale (HCAS) toward Arab Muslim immigrants (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001). The six acculturation orientations of host community members were evaluated in the following private domains: culture, values and customs. The HCAS internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha) was the following for each acculturation orientation combining the three domains: Individualism (.93), Integrationism (.85), Integrationism transformation (.90), Assimilationism (.87), Segregationism (.88), and Exclusionism (.89).

Psychosocial scales. The Multiple Identification Scale with ethnic and religious communities was measured for each of the following eight items: "To what extent do you identify as: Canadian/ Quebecois/ Francophone/ Anglophone/ Immigrant/ Catholic/ Protestant/ Muslim?" The Quality of Ingroup Identification Scale included the following five items: "To what extent do you feel: proud/ happy/ satisfied/ comfortable/ as a member of your own group?" and "To what extent do you enjoy being a member of your own group?" ($\alpha = .92$; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001)

The Thermometer Scale was used to measure ethnic attitudes (Esses et al., 1993). As in Study 1, the six ethnic target groups rated on the 0 to 100 degrees thermometer scale were: Quebec Francophones, Quebec Anglophones, French immigrants, Chinese immigrants, Haitian immigrants, and Arab Muslim immigrants.

The Security Scale monitored how secure participants felt as Quebec Francophones in the following domains: cultural, linguistic, political, and economic (Montreuil et al., 2004). An ethnic threat scale monitored to what extent participants felt threatened by the presence of the following three outgroups in Quebec: French immigrants, Arab Muslim immigrants, and immigrants in general.

The Social Proximity Scale monitored to what extent respondents wanted proximal to distal relations with various outgroups (Bogardus, 1925). It included four items: "To what extent would you like to have a member of the following group as a clerk at your corner store/ your colleague at work/ your neighbor/ your best friend?" For Quebec Francophone respondents, the four-item social proximity scale was computed toward Arab Muslim immigrants ($\alpha = .95$).

Manipulation check. As in Study 1, respondents were shown computer generated images of a woman wearing western clothing, a hijab, and a niqab within the questionnaire form (see Figure 1). Participants rated how often they had seen and how many friends they had who dressed as each women in the photos. Perception of the female experimenter in the four experimental conditions was measured with the following six items: "I feel that this person is religious/ fundamentalist/ feminist/ speaks understandable French/ has a pleasant voice" and "I like the way this person is dressed". Evaluative ratings of the experimenter were measured with the following five items: "I feel that this person is intelligent/ competent/ trustworthy/ attractive/ exotic". Finally, emotions in presence of the experimenter were measured with the following seven items: "To what extent did you feel the following emotions in the presence of the person who conducted this survey: at ease/ happy/ attracted/ afraid/ threatened/ pity/ intrigued?"

Given the reactive nature of some of the scales, a Social Desirability Scale was included at the end of the questionnaire to control for participants who may respond in a face

saving way to sensitive items in the questionnaire (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960). This 14-item-scale was answered using true or false items ($\alpha = .72$).

Results

Characteristics of respondents

Social identification and quality of social identity. The identification profile of participants was characterized by a strong and positive identification as Quebec Francophone. Participants identified strongly as Francophone ($M = 6.8$) and Quebecois ($M = 6.6$). They moderately identified as Canadian ($M = 4.3$) and identified little as Anglophone ($M = 2.3$) and as immigrants ($M = 1.2$). As regards religious identity, participants identified very little as Catholic ($M = 2.7$) and did not identify at all as Protestants ($M = 1.1$) nor as Muslims ($M = 1.0$; One-way with repeated measures ANOVA, $F(13, 4472) = 807.76, p < .001; \eta^2 = .70$). Furthermore, Francophone undergraduates reported a strong positive social identity as members of their Quebecois ethnic group ($M = 6.1$).

Security. A 4 (dress code conditions) X 4 (type of security) repeated measure ANOVA revealed no significant interactions or main effect of dress code. There was a main effect for the type of security participants felt, $F(3, 1023) = 46.28, p < .001, \eta^2 = .12$. Post-hoc tests revealed that Francophone undergraduates felt more strongly secure economically ($M = 4.8$) than politically ($M = 4.4, p < .001$) and culturally ($M = 4.3, p < .001$); and felt significantly less secure linguistically ($M = 3.8, p < .001$).

Identity threat. A 4 (dress code conditions) X 3 (identity threatened by target group) repeated measure ANOVA revealed a significant interaction, $F(6, 682) = 2.22, p = .04, \eta^2 = .01$. Post-hoc tests revealed that Quebec Francophones felt that their identity was less threatened by Arab Muslims in the niqab condition ($M = 2.7$) than the control ($M = 3.6, p = .002$) or Arab ($M = 3.6, p = .003$) conditions, but not less than the hijab condition ($M = 3.2, p = .15$). There was also a main effect for participants' feeling that their identity was threatened by the different target groups, $F(2, 682) = 206.59, p < .001, \eta^2 = .37$. Post-hoc analyses revealed that undergraduates felt that their cultural identity as Quebec Francophone was less threatened by immigrants from France ($M = 1.8$) than by Arab Muslim immigrants ($M = 3.3, p < .001$) and immigrants in general ($M = 3.1, p < .001$).

Dress Code Manipulation Check

Familiarity with veil. A 4 (dress code conditions) X 4 (see and know women who wear the different attire) repeated measure ANOVA revealed a significant interaction effect between frequency of seeing women dressed in different dress styles and religious dress code conditions, $F(6, 682) = 5.28, p < .001, \eta^2 = .01$. Post-hoc tests showed that participants reported seeing more women wearing the niqab in the niqab condition ($M = 2.6$) than in the hijab or Arab conditions ($M_s = 1.9$ and 2.1 , respectively), but not significantly more than in the control condition ($M = 2.3$). The ANOVA also revealed a main effect for frequency of seeing women dressed in different dress codes, $F(2, 682) = 2001.50, p < .001, \eta^2 = .85$. Post-hoc analyses revealed that regardless of experimenter's dress code, participants reported seeing women dressed mostly in western clothing in public settings, such as on the street or at university ($M = 6.6, p < .001$). They sometimes saw women wearing the hijab ($M = 4.5, p < .001$) and they almost never saw women wearing the niqab ($M = 2.2, p < .001$) in public settings.

When asked how many women dressed in the different attire they personally knew as a friend, participants reported having many friends who dressed in western clothing ($M = 5.8$), but virtually no friends who wore the hijab ($M = 1.7$) or the niqab ($M = 1.1$) — $F(2, 682) = 2344.11, p < .001, \eta^2 = .87$. The experimental dress code conditions did not have an effect on the amount of friends participants reported having who wore the different dress styles.

Perception of experimenter. A 2 (gender) X 4 (dress code conditions) ANOVA for each of the five experimenter perception variables revealed no interactions or gender main effects. Main effects of dress code conditions and Post-hoc tests are reported below as well as in Table 2.

Participants rated the experimenter as speaking French in a highly understandable manner ($M = 6.4$) and as having a pleasant voice ($M = 5.3$) and this regardless of dress code conditions thus attesting to the stability of the experimenter's voice production across the experimental conditions. Quebec Francophone undergraduates rated the experimenter as more religious ($M = 5.8$) and fundamentalist ($M = 3.8$) when she wore the niqab and the hijab ($M_s = 5.3$ and 3.5 , respectively) than when she wore western clothing in the Arab (M_s

= 2.7 and 2.8) and control ($M_s = 2.3$ and 2.4) conditions. As seen in Table 2, participants rated liking the way the experimenter was dressed the least when she wore the niqab ($M = 2.3$), liked somewhat her clothing when she wore the hijab ($M = 3.4$), and liked her clothing the most when she wore western clothing in both the Arab ($M = 4.5$) and control conditions ($M = 4.4$). Taken together, these results confirm the success of the religious dress code manipulation.

Evaluation of experimenter

A 2 (gender) X 4 (dress code conditions) ANOVA for each of the five evaluative items revealed no significant interactions. As seen in Table 2, participants rated the female experimenter as favorably whether she was dressed in the western, hijab, or niqab dress codes. Thus, the experimenter was rated as being highly intelligent ($M = 5.9$), competent ($M = 5.9$), and trustworthy ($M = 5.8$) regardless of her dress code, a pattern of result contrary to our expectations based on public opinion polls and results obtained in Study 1 especially as regards negative ratings of women wearing the hijab and the niqab. However, the ANOVA did reveal a dress code main effect for rating of the experimenter's attractiveness and exoticism. Post-hoc tests showed that both male and female participants rated the experimenter as being the least attractive in the niqab condition ($M = 3.7$) and the most attractive in the control condition ($M = 4.5$). Conversely, they rated her as more exotic in the niqab condition ($M = 3.3$) than in the control condition ($M = 2.5$).

Results did not reveal main effects for gender in the evaluation of the experimenter except on two traits: intelligence and exoticism. Female participants rated the female experimenter as being slightly more intelligent ($M = 5.3$) than did the male participants ($M = 5.2$) across the experimental conditions, $F(1, 337) = 6.71, p = .01, \eta^2 = .02$. Conversely, male participants found the female experimenter more exotic ($M = 3.7$) across the dress code conditions than did female participants ($M = 2.8, F(1, 337) = 16.56, p < .001, \eta^2 = .05$).

Emotions in presence of experimenter. A 2 (gender) X 4 (dress code conditions) ANOVA for each of the seven emotions felt toward the experimenter revealed no significant interactions. Likewise, as seen in Table 2, ANOVA analyses revealed no dress code condition effect on the following four items: Francophone undergraduates felt quite at ease ($M = 5.5$), were moderately happy ($M = 4.2$), felt somewhat attracted to the experimenter (M

= 3.2), and did not feel threatened ($M = 1.3$) by the experimenter regardless of her western, hijab, or niqab dress code. However ANOVA analyses revealed a significant main effect for dress code on three emotional items. Participants in general felt virtually no pity for the experimenter ($M = 1.5$). They, however, felt a little more pity for her in the niqab condition ($M = 1.8$) than in the hijab ($M = 1.2$) and control conditions ($M = 1.3$). Participants felt moderately intrigued by the experimenter overall ($M = 4.4$). However, they felt more intrigued by the experimenter in the niqab condition ($M = 4.9$) than in the hijab condition ($M = 3.9$). Finally, participants did not feel afraid in the presence of the experimenter, but they did feel even less afraid of her in the hijab condition ($M = 1.2$) than in the niqab condition ($M = 1.6$).

Gender main effects emerged for three emotions toward the experimenter: threatened, $F(1, 337) = 7.30, p = .007, \eta^2 = .02$; pity, $F(1, 337) = 6.53, p = .011, \eta^2 = .02$; and attracted, $F(1, 337) = 4.45, p = .036, \eta^2 = .01$. Female participants felt less pity for ($M = 1.4$), less attracted to ($M = 3.1$), and even less threatened by ($M = 1.3$) the experimenter than did male participants ($M_s = 1.7, 3.5$ and 1.7 , respectively).

Attitudes toward Arab Muslims

Ethnic attitudes toward immigrants. A 4 (dress code conditions) X 6 (ethnic target group) repeated measure ANOVA revealed an ethnic attitudes main effect, $F(5, 1705) = 202.44, p < .001, \eta^2 = .37$. Francophone undergraduates expressed strong ingroup favoritism as is evident in their overwhelming favorable rating of Quebec Francophones ($M = 23.3$, Bonferroni, $p < .001$). They reported more favorable attitudes toward immigrants from France ($M = 9.4$, Bonferroni, $p < .001$) than toward Quebec Anglophones ($M = 2.9$), Chinese immigrants ($M = 0.51$) and Haitian immigrants ($M = 0.27$). They endorsed especially negative attitudes toward Arab Muslim immigrants ($M = -10.16$, Bonferroni, $p < .001$).

The ANOVA also revealed a significant interaction effect indicating that the religious dress code conditions had an effect on the interethnic attitudes of participants, $F(15, 1705) = 2.42, p = .002, \eta^2 = .02$. As seen in Table 2, Quebec Francophones had the most unfavorable attitudes toward Arab Muslim immigrants in the control condition ($M = -15.1$), followed by the hijab ($M = -11.6$) and Arab conditions ($M = -9.3$) and the least unfavorable attitudes toward Arab Muslim immigrants in the niqab condition ($M = -5.2$).

Table 2. Study 2: Rating the female experimenter and attitudes and acculturation orientations toward Arab Muslim immigrants in the four experimental conditions.

| | Control- Christian name condition <i>n</i> = 86 | Arab- Arabic name condition <i>n</i> = 83 | Hijab- Arabic name condition <i>n</i> = 81 | Niqab- Arabic name condition <i>n</i> = 95 | <i>F</i> tests | η^2 |
|---|--|--|---|---|-----------------------------|----------|
| | M (sd) | | | | | |
| <i>Perception of experimenter</i> | | | | | <i>F</i> (3, 337) | |
| Speaks underst. French | 6.40 (0.98) | 6.35 (0.89) | 6.53 (0.76) | 6.47 (0.93) | .54, <i>p</i> = .66 | .00 |
| Pleasant voice | 5.29 (1.40) | 5.39 (1.14) | 5.23 (1.32) | 5.26 (1.38) | .10, <i>p</i> = .96 | .00 |
| Religious | 2.34 (1.48) _b | 2.70 (1.62) _b | 5.28 (1.48) _a | 5.77 (1.44) _a | 78.67*** | .41 |
| Fundamentalist | 2.42 (1.64) _c | 2.76 (1.99) _{bc} | 3.46 (1.86) _{ab} | 3.79 (1.92) _a | 7.58*** | .06 |
| Like dress style | 4.38 (1.28) _a | 4.47 (1.40) _a | 3.38 (1.58) _b | 2.32 (1.42) _c | 27.30*** | .20 |
| <i>Evaluation of experimenter</i> | | | | | <i>F</i> (3, 337) | |
| Intelligent | 5.93 (0.89) | 5.91 (0.87) | 6.04 (0.83) | 5.64 (1.16) | 1.73, <i>p</i> = .16 | .01 |
| Competent | 6.05 (0.88) | 5.89 (0.87) | 6.00 (0.82) | 5.74 (1.09) | 1.19, <i>p</i> = .31 | .01 |
| Trustworthy | 5.75 (1.18) | 5.86 (1.02) | 5.86 (1.05) | 5.66 (1.26) | .08, <i>p</i> = .97 | .00 |
| Attractive | 4.54 (1.66) _a | 4.45 (1.60) _a | 4.04 (1.82) _{ab} | 3.69 (1.88) _b | 4.18** | .04 |
| Exotic | 2.53 (1.63) _b | 2.95 (1.88) _{ab} | 3.07 (1.77) _{ab} | 3.34 (2.07) _a | 3.98** | .03 |
| <i>Emotions in presence of experimenter</i> | | | | | <i>F</i> (3, 337) | |
| Pity | 1.34 (.84) _b | 1.47 (1.16) _{ab} | 1.23 (.70) _b | 1.80 (1.40) _a | 6.61*** | .06 |
| Intrigued | 4.31 (1.85) _{ab} | 4.34 (1.65) _{ab} | 3.92 (2.0) _b | 4.92 (1.75) _a | 3.82** | .03 |
| At ease | 5.25 (1.29) | 5.40 (1.48) | 5.55 (1.62) | 5.09 (1.66) | .76, <i>p</i> = .52 | .01 |
| Happy | 4.17 (1.58) | 4.07 (1.52) | 4.34 (1.64) | 4.36 (1.69) | .29, <i>p</i> = .83 | .00 |
| Attracted | 2.93 (1.50) | 3.28 (1.75) | 3.03 (1.80) | 3.36 (1.88) | 1.71, <i>p</i> = .17 | .01 |
| Afraid | 1.41 (.78) _{ab} | 1.43 (.92) _{ab} | 1.18 (.43) _b | 1.63 (1.23) _a | 4.43** | .04 |
| Threatened | 1.29 (0.60) | 1.29 (0.75) | 1.17 (0.43) | 1.44 (1.0) | 1.13, <i>p</i> = .34 | .01 |
| <i>Attitudes toward Arab Muslim immigrants</i> | | | | | | |
| Interethnic attitudes | -15.09 (16.35) _c | -9.33 (15.26) _{ab} | -11.59 (15.13) _{bc} | -5.19 (11.16) _a | <i>F</i> (5, 1705) = 2.42** | .02 |
| Social proximity | 3.87 (1.42) _b | 4.19 (1.48) _{ab} | 4.17 (1.39) _{ab} | 4.42 (1.48) _a | <i>F</i> (6, 682) = 2.62* | .01 |
| <i>Acculturation orientations toward Arab Muslim immigrants</i> | | | | | <i>F</i> (15, 1705) | |
| Individualism | 4.18 (1.84) _b | 3.93 (1.78) _b | 4.19 (1.89) _b | 5.09 (1.66) _a | 2.90*** | .01 |
| Integrationism | 5.29 (1.34) | 5.03 (1.51) | 4.94 (1.48) | 4.95 (1.59) | 1.01, <i>p</i> = .39 | .01 |
| Integrationism transformation | 2.08 (1.38) | 2.35 (1.28) | 2.34 (1.27) | 2.27 (1.33) | .75, <i>p</i> = .52 | .01 |
| Assimilationism | 2.41 (1.56) | 2.26 (1.46) | 2.30 (1.36) | 1.99 (1.14) | 1.52, <i>p</i> = .21 | .01 |
| Segregationism | 4.29 (1.80) | 4.03 (1.79) | 4.13 (1.78) | 3.87 (1.88) | .85, <i>p</i> = .47 | .01 |
| Exclusionism | 2.29 (1.53) | 2.07 (1.33) | 2.11 (1.32) | 1.80 (1.37) | 1.99, <i>p</i> = .12 | .02 |
| <i>Social desirability</i> | | | | | <i>F</i> (3, 341) | |
| 1 = yes; 2 = no | 1.62 (0.20) | 1.58 (0.23) | 1.64 (0.19) | 1.61 (0.20) | 1.11, <i>p</i> = .35 | .01 |

Note. Scores range from 1 (totally disagree) to 7 (totally agree). Two-way ANOVAs for Perception of experimenter, Evaluation of experimenter, and Emotions. Repeated measure ANOVAs for Attitudes and Acculturation orientations toward Arab Muslims; *F* tests represent main effect of dress code conditions. One-way ANOVA for Social desirability. *F* tests significant at **p* < .05; ***p* < .01; ****p* < .001. Tukey Post-hoc analyses are indicated through alphabetical symbols (a b c d); mean scores on a same row that do not share a common alphabetical subscript differ at *p* < .05 (a > b > c > d).

Social proximity. A 4 (dress code conditions) X 3 (social proximity with ethnic groups) repeated measure ANOVA revealed a main effect for social proximity with ingroup and outgroups, $F(2, 682) = 176.84, p < .001, \eta^2 = .34$. Post-hoc analyses revealed, in line with the ingroup favoritism effect, that Francophone undergraduates wanted Quebec Francophone own group members the most as a sales clerk, a University and work colleague, a neighbor, a best friend, and as a spouse ($M = 5.3, p < .001$). They sought more social proximity with French immigrants ($M = 4.9, p < .001$) and wanted the least social proximity with Arab Muslim immigrants ($M = 4.2, p < .001$). The repeated measure ANOVA also revealed a significant interaction effect, $F(6, 682) = 2.24, p = .038, \eta^2 = .01$. As seen in Table 2, Francophone undergraduates wanted more social proximity with Arab Muslim immigrants in the niqab condition ($M = 4.4$) than in the control condition ($M = 3.9$).

Social desirability. As revealed in Table 2, a one-way ANOVA revealed that the social desirability scale was not affected by the dress code conditions. Furthermore, there were no significant correlations between social desirability and attitudes toward Arab Muslim immigrants.

Host community acculturation orientations toward Arab Muslim immigrants

To assess acculturation orientations, we conducted a 4 (dress code conditions) X 6 (acculturation orientations) repeated measure ANOVA. Results revealed an acculturation orientation main effect, $F(5, 1705) = 243.18, p < .001, \eta^2 = .42$. Post-hoc analyses indicated that Francophone undergraduates most strongly endorsed Integrationism ($M = 5.05, p < .001$), followed by Individualism ($M = 4.37, p < .001$) and Segregationism ($M = 4.07, p < .001$), whereas Integrationism transformation ($M = 2.26$), Assimilationism ($M = 2.23$) and Exclusionism ($M = 2.06$) were the least endorsed. There were no significant differences between the endorsement of Integrationism transformation and Assimilationism and Exclusionism, whereas Assimilationism was significantly different from Exclusionism ($p = .011$), but not Integrationism transformation.

There was an interaction effect between acculturation orientations toward Arab Muslim immigrants and religious dress code conditions. As seen in Table 2, Individualism

was more endorsed in the niqab condition ($M = 5.1$) than in the hijab ($M = 4.2$), Arab ($M = 3.9$), and control ($M = 4.2$) conditions.

The degree of association between the social desirability scale and the six acculturation orientations was evaluated using Pearson's correlation coefficient. Results showed no significant correlation between any acculturation orientation and the social desirability scale, except for Individualism which was negatively correlated with social desirability ($r(343) = -.17, p < .001$). Note that social desirability did not differ between experimental conditions and so this correlation is reflective of social desirability and individualism regardless of the dress code of the experimenter.

General discussion

Replicating previous acculturation studies, Integrationism and Individualism were the preferred acculturation orientations of Quebec Francophone undergraduates; whereas Assimilationism and Exclusionism were the least preferred orientations (Bourhis et al., 2009a). Endorsement of Segregationism was stronger than results obtained with Quebec Francophones in earlier studies (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001, 2004; Bourhis et al., 2008). Stronger endorsement of Segregationism reflects increasingly intolerant views of Arab Muslim religious differences in Quebec society as shown in public opinion surveys and as portrayed in the mass media during the last decade.

In line with our first hypothesis, results showed that our Muslim religious prime manipulations did not affect the endorsement of acculturation orientations towards Arab Muslims. Despite our highly effective hijab and niqab religious dress code manipulations, both welcoming and unwelcoming acculturation orientations toward Arab Muslims remained quite stable. These results support the IAM premise that acculturation orientations are more deeply embedded cognitively and emotionally and consequently are less affected by the intriguing but non-threatening presence of a female experimenter wearing the hijab or niqab. One exception to this pattern emerged in the case of Individualism which was more strongly endorsed in the niqab condition than in the hijab and western dress code conditions. Given the uniquely distinguishing features of the niqab dress code, respondents in this condition

may have been made more attuned to the value of endorsing individualism in the plural organizational setting of the university.

Contrary to our second hypothesis, results showed that Quebec Francophone attitudes toward a Muslim experimenter wearing either a hijab or a niqab were as favorable as those held toward the experimenter wearing western clothing in the control and Arab conditions. Participants rated the experimenter in their classroom to be equally competent, intelligent, and trustworthy regardless of the religious dress code conditions. Emotional feelings aroused by the presence of the experimenter were also similar regardless of the dress code conditions. Importantly, Quebec Francophones did not feel threatened or afraid of the experimenter whether she was dressed in western clothing or wore the hijab or niqab. In contrast, results obtained in Study 1 showed that Quebec Francophone endorsed less positive ratings of women wearing the hijab and especially the niqab relative to the woman dressed in western clothing. The photo of the woman wearing the niqab was rated less competent, trustworthy, intelligent, attractive, and friendly than the woman dressed in western clothing. These Study 1 results suggest that when individuals are asked to rate a depersonalized representative of a devalued religious outgroup (photos), their explicitly negative attitudes toward them can be quite concordant with prejudices held against such groups within the community, in public opinion polls and the media. However, as seen in Study 2 these explicit negative attitudes are attenuated when respondents anonymously rate an actual individual member of the devalued religious outgroup who is in their presence within the classroom.

Given that participants had little contact with women wearing the Islamic veil in Study 1, they relied on their prejudices to rate photos of the fictitious veiled women. However, when rating an actual veiled experimenter, respondents used individualizing information rather than prevailing prejudices against veiled women. As shown in Study 1, the more participants reported seeing women wearing the niqab in public settings, the more favorable were their attitudes toward women wearing the niqab. However, in Study 2 conducted in the actual presence of the veiled experimenter, familiarity with women wearing the hijab or the niqab was not related to attitudes towards women wearing the hijab or niqab.

Contrary to hypothesis 3, the experimenter wearing the hijab and the niqab did not prime a strong feeling of symbolic threat for participants. Quebec Francophones felt as

unafraid and unthreatened in the presence of the experimenter wearing the niqab as they did in the presence of the experimenter dressed in western clothing portrayed as a Quebec Francophone. Likewise, Quebec Francophones felt as culturally, linguistically, politically, and economically secure in the presence of the experimenter regardless of the dress code manipulation. Interestingly, undergraduates felt their identity as Quebec Francophones was even less threatened by Arab Muslims in the niqab condition than in the control and Arab conditions. Taken together these results suggest that the hijab and niqab dress code manipulation did not arouse a feeling of threat or cultural insecurity.

As hypothesized, attitudes toward Arab Muslim immigrants were less stable than acculturation orientations and were affected by the religious dress code of the experimenter. However, they were not affected in the predicted direction and they did not shift in all the experimental conditions. Attitudes toward Arab Muslims were least favorable in the control and the hijab conditions while they were somewhat negative in the Arab and niqab conditions. Interestingly, Quebec Francophones had less favorable attitudes toward and wanted less social proximity with Arab Muslim immigrants in the control condition with the experimenter depicted as a French Canadian and dressed in the western dress code than in the explicit intercultural condition with the experimenter dressed with the niqab with an Arab name. Most negative attitudes toward Arab Muslim immigrants obtained in the control condition with the experimenter depicted as a Quebec Francophone (Study 2) are concordant with most negative attitudes held against Arab Muslims obtained in Study 1, also conducted with a Quebec Francophone experimenter. Thus, the use of a French Canadian experimenter in Study 1 and in the control condition of Study 2 created an ingroup experimental environment in which Quebec Francophones could candidly express quite negative attitudes against Arab Muslims, reflecting negative attitudes against this outgroup obtained in public opinion polls in Quebec.

Contrary to our third hypothesis in Study 2, why were negative attitudes toward Arab Muslims less unfavorable in the niqab condition than in the control condition? Three alternative explanations need to be considered. First, the niqab condition fostered a salient intercultural contact situation which may have made explicitly expressed negative attitudes toward Arab Muslims less socially desirable compared to the control condition conducted by

the ingroup French Canadian experimenter. However, as results in Study 2 revealed, the social desirability scale results were not significantly different across the dress code conditions. Thus social desirability considerations do not help account for the above results.

However, in the niqab condition, correlations between social desirability, attitudes toward Arab Muslims, and desire for social proximity with Arab Muslims revealed a negative correlation. The more Quebec Francophones were concerned with social desirability, the less favorably they rated Arab Muslims ($r(342) = -.21, p = .045$) and the less they wanted proximal relations with Arab Muslims ($r(342) = -.25, p = .017$). These results suggest that when primed with the experimenter wearing the religiously contentious niqab, Quebec Francophones may consider the endorsement of negative attitudes toward Arab Muslims as the socially desirable norm. It is noteworthy that Study 2 was conducted while the issue of Muslim women wearing the niqab in public settings had reached peak antipathy in public opinion polls with Quebec Francophones while the French media demonized the religious activities of Arab Muslims in the province.

Second, as found in Studies 1 and 2, Quebec Francophones were least familiar with women wearing the niqab and rated the experimenter as more exotic in the niqab condition than in the control condition. However, correlations between how often participants saw women wearing a niqab and attitudes toward Arab Muslims were not significant ($r(342) = .003, p = .98$), thus providing little support for the familiarity hypothesis in Study 2.

Third, could the less negative ratings of Arab Muslims obtained in the niqab than in the control condition obtained in Study 2 reflect an experimenter counterstereotype role effect? Study 1 showed that Francophone undergraduates perceived the woman wearing the niqab as less intelligent, competent, trustworthy, and friendly than the woman portrayed in the western dress code. In Study 2, the female experimenter in each experimental condition was a woman who spoke fluent French, who was highly educated at the Masters level, and was confident and competent as she conducted the survey study on her own in University classrooms. The discrepancy between the prevailing negative image of women wearing the niqab and the real-life presence of a competent experimenter wearing the niqab may have fostered a counterstereotype role effect benefitting the experimenter in the niqab condition.

For Quebec Francophones, this effect may have generalized to less negative ratings of Arab Muslims as an immigrant group in the province.

In line with this counterstereotype hypothesis, *t*-tests⁶ comparing attitudes of participants in Study 1 toward the woman wearing the niqab in the photo and participant attitudes in Study 2 toward the experimenter wearing the niqab revealed the following: Undergraduates rated the experimenter as more competent, attractive, trustworthy, intelligent, and less threatening in Study 2 than the woman wearing the niqab in Study 1. Though these results provide some support for counterstereotype interpretation, future studies could further explore the effect by varying the role status of the experimenter (Richeson & Ambady, 2003).

Recently a counterstereotype effect was also invoked to account for a study using the Implicit Association Test (IAT). Results showed that the mere presence of a Black (vs White) experimenter was sufficient to reduce automatic prejudice (IAT) of European Americans against African Americans (Lowery, Hardin, & Sinclair, 2001). In seeking to account for the above IAT results, it was proposed that the high role status of the Black experimenter could be seen as producing a counterstereotypic effect, thus helping to account for the reduction of automatic prejudice obtained with European Americans (Richeson & Ambady, 2003). Another study showed that being exposed to counterstereotypic positive Black individuals produced weaker automatic negativity toward Blacks relative to Whites, compared to participants who had been exposed only to negatively stereotypic group members (Dasgupta & Greenwald, 2001).

The present studies show that Francophones know little of Islam and have few face-to-face contacts with Arab Muslims. Our results suggest that by putting majority group members in direct contact with a devalued minority holding a counterstereotypical position of authority and responsibility, may be a first step toward changing negative attitudes toward such devalued minorities. Putting competent Arab Muslim women who wear the niqab in more valued role positions could produce the counterstereotype effect needed to improve

⁶ Competent: $t(169) = -5.12, p < .001$; $M_s = 4.6$ and 5.7 in Study 1 and 2 respectively
 Attractive: $t(169) = -5.29, p < .001$; $M_s = 2.2$ and 3.7 in Study 1 and 2 respectively
 Trustworthy: $t(169) = -3.43, p < .001$; $M_s = 4.8$ and 5.7 in Study 1 and 2 respectively
 Intelligent: $t(169) = -3.74, p < .001$; $M_s = 4.8$ and 5.6 in Study 1 and 2 respectively

general attitudes towards disparaged Arab Muslims. However, as seen in Study 1 and in recent Quebec Francophone public opinion polls there is a growing backlash against Arab Muslims and especially veiled women using the niqab. For security, secular, gender, and symbolic reasons, public policy decisions have moved toward banning face veils in public settings such as the work place, education, health care, in commerce, and on the street. Though laws banning the Islamic face veil have been adopted in Egypt and Turkey in the past, similar laws are now being proposed or adopted in Western Francophone democracies such as France, Belgium, and Quebec (Welch, 2007). Such laws are being decried by Muslims and western rights advocates as stigmatizing and segregationist, undermining the integration of both Arab and non-Arab Muslims established in the Western world.

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CHAPITRE III

ARTICLE 2

A field experiment testing the impact of the Islamic veil on helping behavior and
acculturation orientations

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Abstract

The impact of religious and linguistic category membership was examined on the helping behavior and acculturation orientations of Quebec Francophones. Undergraduates ($N = 323$) were randomly approached by the same female experimenter who voiced a plea for directions in either English or French, wearing either western style clothing, a hijab, or a niqab. Helping behavior was measured 1) directly in the low cost conditions: using French or English to give directions to the experimenter; and 2) indirectly in the high cost conditions: completing a questionnaire for an ingroup confederate who approached the same participants following the encounter with the experimenter. Results showed that 98% of Francophones converged to English while giving accurate directions regardless of the dress code of the experimenter. While 66% of participants completed the questionnaire in the control condition with western clothing, only 52% completed it in the hijab condition and an overwhelming 87% in the niqab condition. Aversive racism and counterstereotype help account for results. Endorsement of acculturation orientations remained stable across linguistic and religious dress code conditions attesting to the stability of such orientations.

Key words: acculturation, Arab Muslim, Islamic veil, helping behavior, aversive racism

A field experiment testing the impact of the Islamic veil on helping behavior and acculturation orientations

Immigration is the rule than the exception for most Western societies such as the European Union, the United States, and Canada. In such multilingual, multiethnic, and multiconfessional societies, the issue of social cohesion has become paramount for peaceful coexistence (Laurence, 2009). One measure of social cohesion is helping behavior for reasons of philanthropy (e.g., donating money to a foundation), volunteerism (e.g., in community, sports, and religion), and interpersonal relations (e.g., helping a stranger on the street). Each of these types of helping behavior contributes to social cohesion which promotes interpersonal and intergroup harmony in increasingly diverse receiving societies of the Western world.

What are the parameters that foster more or less helping behavior? A number of studies on intergroup helping have shown that individuals are more likely to help members of their own group than outgroup members (Dovidio, Gaertner, Validzic, Motoka, Johnson, & Frazier, 1997; Wegner & Crano, 1975). Arguably, differential helping behavior favoring ingroup vs. outgroup members can be seen as an indirect measure of discriminatory behavior (Hendren & Blank, 2009). For example, a study exploring the effects of social category membership on real-life helping behavior showed that an injured stranger wearing an ingroup sports team shirt was more likely to be helped than was the case when wearing a rival team shirt or an unbranded shirt (Levine, Prosser, Evans, & Reicher, 2005).

The classic helping behavior literature has also shown that as costs increase, helping decreases (for review, see Dovidio, 1984; Penner, Dovidio, Piliavin, & Schroeder, 2005). According to the cost-benefit analysis of helping, people deliberately weigh potential self-rewards against potential costs of helping (Piliavin, Dovidio, Gaertner, & Clark, 1981). When the cost of helping is low, ingroup/outgroup category membership may not be an important determinant of helping. When the cost of helping is high, helping behavior is more likely to be determined by the ingroup vs. outgroup membership of both the helper and the recipient.

The current study focuses on helping behavior in the bilingual setting of Montreal in the province of Quebec, Canada. The purpose of this cross-cultural study was threefold: 1) to investigate the impact of a single or double outgroup membership on the helping behavior of Quebec Francophones, based on linguistic (French vs. English) and religious (secular vs. Muslim) category membership; 2) to investigate how the combination of low vs. high cost of helping with a single or double outgroup membership of the recipient is related to the helping behavior of Quebec Francophones; 3) to investigate how the single or double outgroup membership of a requestor may affect the endorsement of acculturation orientations.

Both language and religion can be a source of intergroup tensions during cross-cultural encounters in Quebec. English-French language issues have been a sustained source of conflict in Quebec for the past 30 years; while recent immigration from Muslim countries has made religious differences more salient to the Quebec French majority. Such ethnolinguistic and religious tensions are likely to affect cross-cultural helping in Montreal. Generally, we expect that Francophones will help an Anglophone and/or Muslim experimenter (single or double outgroup member) less than a Francophone and/or secular experimenter (single or double ingroup member).

Language tensions in Quebec

In Quebec, English traditionally enjoyed a higher status than French, thereby reflecting the elite position of the dominant Anglophone minority (Bourhis, 2001). While English was the language of work and upward mobility, French was deemed more appropriate for informal or familiar exchanges, given the subordinate position of the Francophone majority (80%) in the province up to the 1960s. However, the adoption of Bill 101 in 1977, which favored the status and use of French relative to English, reflected the changing power relationship between Quebec's two solitudes. Along with other government interventions, Bill 101 contributed to the ascendancy of the Francophone majority economically, politically, and linguistically while accounting for a drop in the vitality of the English speaking minority (Bourhis, 2008). Based on the 2006 Canadian Census results, Bill 101 could be credited in part for ensuring that 94% of the Quebec population knows French, that

French is the mother tongue of 80% of the population, and is spoken as the language of the home by 82% of the population. While the proportion of Anglophones who are French-English bilinguals increased from 37% in 1971 to 69% in 2006, the proportion of Francophone bilinguals only increased from 26% in 1971 to 36% in 2006. Bill 101 also contributed to the emerging sociolinguistic norm favoring an increased use of French relative to English in most public and official communicative situations such as the work world, the public administration, commerce, and cultural production. Despite these favorable trends, Quebec nationalists claim that the French language and culture remain threatened as a way of mobilizing the Francophone majority for the cause of Quebec separatism.

In urban, multilingual cities such as Montreal, bilingual individuals can adjust their language behavior by choosing the language in which they speak to their interlocutor. Communication accommodation theory (CAT) is the social psychological framework most pertinent to the understanding of language switching behavior in cross-cultural encounters (Bourhis, El-Geledi, & Sachdev, 2007a). The CAT framework seeks to account for language switching behavior not only on the basis of sociolinguistic norms, but also depending on interlocutors' motives, attitudes, perceptions, and group loyalties. According to CAT, three basic speech strategies can be used in bilingual encounters: language convergence, language maintenance, and language divergence (Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977). Convergence is a strategy in which bilingual speakers choose to switch to the language of their interlocutor. Convergence can be used to improve communication effectiveness, reduce interpersonal uncertainty, and/or signal interpersonal liking.

In contrast, language maintenance is a strategy in which speakers choose to maintain their own language while communicating with outgroup speakers. Language divergence occurs when speakers choose to accentuate the differences between their own speech style and language relative to that of their outgroup interlocutor. Both maintenance and divergence are dissociative speech strategies which may reflect the speaker's personal dislike of his or her interlocutor. As an intergroup communication strategy, language maintenance and divergence may be used not only as a way of asserting one's own group distinctiveness, but to also signify a person's rejection of the other as a rival or despised outgroup speaker (Bourhis et al., 2007a). These three language strategies were documented empirically at many

linguistic levels including paralinguistic, content, speech style, accent, and language choice in different multilingual settings across the world (Giles, Reid, & Harwood, 2010).

In the present study, the language strategy of Quebec Francophones toward an Anglophone or a Francophone experimenter was used as a measure of cross-cultural helping behavior. This measure was used in four field experiments conducted on the streets of Montreal in 1977, 1979, 1991, and 1997 (Bourhis, Montaruli, & Amiot, 2007b). In all studies, pedestrians were randomly approached by a female experimenter who asked for directions in either fluent French or fluent English. In the 1991 and 1997 studies, the experimental procedure was replicated with a White and Black female experimenter. When Montreal Anglophones were asked for directions in French, results showed that in 1977 and 1979 as many as 40% chose language maintenance by providing directions only in English while 60% converged to French. However, 70% of Anglophones converged to French in 1991 while 100% converged to French by 1997. As for Montreal Francophones, they consistently converged to English (85% -100%) when asked for directions in English by an Anglophone experimenter. The ethnicity of the experimenter (White vs. Black) did not have an impact on the percentage of language convergence used by Francophone pedestrians in 1991 and 1997. Furthermore, all Francophone and Anglophone pedestrians gave accurate directions to the experimenter regardless of her ethnicity and French/English language use in the 1977 to 1997 field studies.

Religious tensions in Quebec

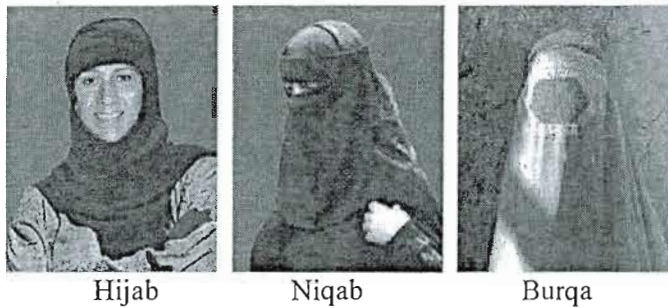
Quebec is the home to the largest number of Arabs in Canada (37.2%, 109 000; Canadian Census, 2006). Lebanon, Morocco, and Algeria account for most Arab immigrants who settled in Quebec during the last decade. These Arab immigrants overwhelmingly have French (88% to 98%) as either a first (L1) or second language (L2), thus contributing to the French speaking majority in Quebec. However, as a sizable proportion of immigrants from Arab countries are Muslim, they tend to be perceived as culturally and religiously different by Quebec Francophones who remain predominantly Roman Catholic (Antonius, 2002). A number of studies measuring Quebec Francophone attitudes toward Arab Muslim immigrants found that Francophones felt less comfortable with Arab Muslims and evaluated them less

favorably than other visible minority immigrants including Haitians and West Indians (Bourhis, Barrette, & Moriconi, 2008; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004).

One of the visual identifiers of being a Muslim is the Islamic veil worn by Muslim women. Shortly after the events of September 11th 2001, the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia recorded anti-Islamic reactions across the 15 European Union states (Allen & Nielsen, 2002). Results showed that women who wore the Islamic veil reported being the most victims of attacks or infringements. Thus, wearing of the Islamic veil by Muslim women suggests that the veil serves more than a simple cue to religious affiliation (Hoodfar, 2003). From the point of view of Muslim women settled in Western democracies, the veil can symbolize personal and collective identification with particular varieties of Islamic beliefs while also serving as a tool of social differentiation from the Christian mainstream. From the point of view of dominant receiving societies in Western democracies, wearing the Islamic veil can be seen as 1) an expression of religious freedom enjoyed in democratic countries endowed with constitutions and charters of individual rights and freedoms, 2) a badge of religious separatism from the secular and/or Christian host majority mainstream, or 3) a symbol of female subordination to Muslim men undermining the hard fought achievements of women for gender equality (McDonough, 2003). Given these contrasting interpretations, the wearing of the Islamic veil by Muslim women has become a contentious issue across receiving countries of Western democracies including Quebec (Welch, 2007).

As seen in Figure 1, it is useful to distinguish between selected types of Islamic dress codes used across Muslim and non-Muslim countries of the world (Hoodfar, 2001). Many Muslim women of the Middle East, North Africa, and the Western diaspora wear a scarf covering only their hair, leaving the face visible. This veil has different names but is more commonly known as the “hijab”. In contrast, the “niqab” is a term for a black cloth which covers the whole body and entire face, leaving only the eyes visible. Though rare in the Middle East and in the Western diaspora, it is mainly prescribed in Saudi Arabia. The “burka” is mainly prescribed in Afghanistan and is an all enveloping robe which covers the entire body except for the eyes which are concealed behind a cross-hatched net (Hoodfar, 2001).

Figure 1. Computer generated photos demonstrating different types of Islamic veils (El-Geledi & Bourhis, 2010).



This study was conducted during a time when the Islamic veil was a controversial topic in Quebec. A public opinion poll showed that 62% of Quebec Francophones believed that Muslim women who wear the veil pose a problem for living in Quebec society ($N = 1000$; Roy & Gagné, 2007). Another survey found that 57% of Quebec Francophones think the provincial government should ban religious signs (i.e., the hijab and niqab) worn by western servants in the public administration ($N = 1002$; Castonguay, 2010).

Given that the niqab and burka cover the whole face, public attitudes toward such Islamic veils are more negative than those toward the hijab. The Quebec government recently proposed Bill 94, which is the first piece of legislation in North America that bans face coverings from public and government buildings, including education and health care services. The bill received overwhelming and broad support in Quebec and Canada. A recent online-poll that surveyed a sample of 1,004 Canadians found that 95% of Quebecers and 80% of Canadians approved of Bill 94 (Angus Reid Public Opinion, 2010).

Two studies, one with host majority Belgians and another with host majority Quebec Francophones, found that negative attitudes toward Arab Muslims were related to negative attitudes toward the Islamic veil (Saroglou, Lamkaddem, van Pachterbeke, & Buxant, 2009 and El-Geledi & Bourhis, 2010, respectively). The Quebec study measured Francophone attitudes toward types of Islamic veils using a questionnaire that contained photos of the same computer generated image of a White female wearing either western clothing, a hijab, or a niqab (see Figure 1). Results revealed that undergraduates had the least favorable attitudes toward the woman wearing the niqab followed by the woman wearing the hijab, while the most favorable attitudes were held toward the woman wearing western clothing.

Correlation results revealed that negative attitudes toward Arab Muslims were significantly related to unfavorable ratings of the woman wearing the hijab and the one wearing the niqab. Thus, negative attitudes toward Arab Muslims are strongly associated with negative attitudes toward the Islamic veil.

These unfavorable attitudes toward the Islamic veil appear to be related to negative behavioral intentions. A recent experiment conducted with White Australian undergraduates using a computer game found that participants showed a greater bias to shoot at Muslim male targets wearing a turban or at female target wearing a hijab compared to non-Muslim male and female targets dressed in western clothing (Unkelbach, Forgas, & Denson, 2008). The authors noted that “interestingly, this effect could be demonstrated with otherwise liberal and tolerant Australian undergraduates, who would be most unlikely to explicitly espouse negative stereotypes about Muslims” (p.1411). Though the Australian study explored negative behavioral intentions toward veiled Arab Muslims, would similar patterns emerge for positive behavioral intentions such as helping behavior? We expected Quebec Francophones in our study to be less willing to help a woman wearing an Islamic veil than a woman dressed in western style clothing.

Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM)

Acculturation is defined as the process of bi-directional change that takes place between host community members and immigrants who experience sustained intercultural contact. Acculturation implies that dominant as well as non-dominant cultural groups are influenced and transformed by their mutual intercultural contacts (Sam, 2006). In Western societies, much of the acculturation research focused on the adaptation strategies of non-dominant immigrant minorities as they interacted with dominant host majorities in countries of settlement (Berry, 1997; van Oudenhoven, 2006). Despite the power advantage of dominant majorities in imposing cultural adaptation on immigrant minorities, the cultural, linguistic and religious diversity of immigrant communities also has the power to transform the culture of dominant host communities (Berry, 2009; van Oudenhoven, Ward, & Masgoret, 2006). Taking stock of such power differentials, the Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM) was designed to better account for intergroup processes which characterize relations between host

community members and non-dominant immigrant group members (Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997). Its conceptual framework includes the following components: 1) acculturation orientations adopted by immigrants within the country of settlement, 2) acculturation orientations adopted by host community members toward specific immigrant groups, 3) interpersonal and intergroup relations which may be harmonious, problematic, or conflictual, depending on the combination of acculturation orientations adopted by immigrant and host community members. The IAM explores relations between dominant host community groups and immigrant minorities who may be of 1st or 2nd generation background and whose identification as 'immigrant' may be more or less strong. As a complement of other acculturation frameworks, the IAM focuses on the *cultural adoption strategies* of immigrant and host majority members rather than on their dual group identities or desires for intergroup contact (e.g., Arends-Toth & Van de Vijver, 2006, Berry, 1997; Liebkind, 2001). In the present study, we focus on the acculturation orientations of Francophone host majority members in Quebec.

The IAM proposes that members of the host community may endorse six acculturation orientations they wish immigrants to adopt. *Integrationism* is endorsed by host community members who accept and value that immigrants maintain some aspects of their heritage culture and also accept and value that immigrants adopt important features of the host majority culture. Integrationists value a stable biculturalism/bilingualism amongst immigrant communities that, in the long term, may contribute to cultural and linguistic pluralism as an enduring feature of the host society. *Integrationism transformation* is endorsed by members of the majority group who not only endorse the integrationist acculturation orientation, but are also willing to adapt and transform some aspects of their own culture and institutional practices for the sake of better incorporating immigrants within the receiving society. *Assimilationism* corresponds to the traditional concept of absorption whereby host community members expect immigrants to relinquish their language and cultural identity for the sake of adopting the dominant culture and language of the dominant host majority. *Segregationism* refers to host community members who accept the desire of immigrants to maintain their heritage culture and values as long as immigrants keep their distance from host members, as segregationists do not wish immigrants to transform, dilute or contaminate

the host culture and value system. Segregationists prefer immigrants to remain together in separate urban/regional enclaves, and are ambivalent regarding the status of immigrants as rightful members of the host society. *Exclusionists* deny immigrants the right to adopt features of the host community culture. They also deny immigrants the choice to maintain their heritage language, culture or religion and believe that some immigrants have customs and values that can never be socially incorporated within the host community mainstream. *Individualists* define themselves and others as persons rather than as members of group categories. Because it is personal qualities and individual achievements that count most, individualists will tend to interact with immigrants in the same way they would with other individuals who happen to be members of the host community. These acculturation orientations are measured using the validated Host Community Acculturation Scale (HCAS; Barrette, Bourhis, Capozza, & Hichy, 2005; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001).

A body of research using the IAM shows that host community university undergraduates in North America, Western Europe, and Israel more strongly endorse the acculturation orientations of individualism and integrationism than the unwelcoming orientations of assimilationism, segregationism, and exclusionism (Bourhis, Montreuil, Barrette, & Montaruli, 2009a). In the last decade, host community acculturation orientations have been measured using the HCAS questionnaire in controlled-classroom experiments with experimenters who were members of the ingroup host majority (Bourhis, Barrette, El-Geledi, & Schmidt, 2009b). Within this intragroup setting, a basic premise of the IAM proposed that acculturation orientations are more stable and more strongly and deeply embedded cognitively and emotionally than intergroup attitudes. The current field study investigated if this basic premise would hold true not only with an experimenter who was a member of the host majority but also with experimenters who were portrayed as members of a devalued immigrant outgroup; namely a Muslim female wearing the hijab or the niqab.

Study design and hypotheses

The field study included two experimental phases. In phase 1, a female experimenter wearing either western style clothing (skirt and blouse), a hijab, or a niqab, asked White Francophone undergraduates directions to the university bookstore in either fluent English or fluent French. Hence, the experiment employed a 2 (language of plea: French vs. English) X 3 (dress code condition: western, hijab, niqab) between-participants design.

The goal of phase 1 was to investigate the impact of the linguistic and religious category membership of the requester on the helping behavior of majority Quebec Francophones. The main dependent variables were: a) whether Francophone participants gave accurate directions to the university bookshop in the six language and religious dress code conditions; and b) whether Francophone participants maintained French or converged to English when asked for directions in English. When responding to the experimenter's plea, total or partial use of English was considered a convergent response. The use of a single word such as "good bye" was coded as a convergent response on the assumption that the Francophone pedestrian made an effort to accommodate psychologically to the linguistic need of the experimenter (Bourhis et al., 2007b). This lenient criterion for coding convergence was also designed to minimize lack of second language competence as an alternative explanation for Francophones who used language maintenance while providing directions to the experimenter.

We saw in the 1991 and 1997 Montreal field studies that Francophone pedestrians helped the experimenter by converging to English regardless of her skin color (White vs. Black; Bourhis et al., 2007b). However, in the present study, we expected helping behavior to be strongly affected by the religious category membership of the experimenter given the increased stigmatization of Arab Muslims relative to other visible minorities such as Blacks in Quebec. A recent study measured the interethnic attitudes of Quebec Francophone undergraduates toward various outgroups (El-Geledi & Bourhis, 2010). Using a thermometer scale ranging from 0° (*very unfavorable*) to 100° (*very favorable*; Esses, Haddock, & Zanna, 1993), interethnic attitudes calculated as difference scores showed that Quebec Francophone undergraduates expressed strong ingroup favoritism ($M = 13.96$). The Francophone undergraduates also expressed more favorable attitudes toward French immigrants ($M =$

4.31) than toward Haitian immigrants ($M = -1.77$), Chinese immigrants ($M = -2.62$), and members of the Anglophones national minority in Quebec ($M = -5.33$). Francophone undergraduates expressed the least favorable attitudes toward Arab Muslim immigrants ($M = -8.54$). These results showed that attitudes toward Arab Muslims were far less favorable than those toward Black Haitians, though both groups share French as the language of integration within Quebec society. Results of a recent study conducted with Muslim immigrants in the UK suggested that given its perceived voluntary nature, religious affiliation may be a more powerful predictor of prejudice than race or ethnicity (Sheridan, 2006). Based on these results and Quebec public opinion polls showing unfavorable attitudes toward women who wear the hijab and especially the niqab, we expected Quebec Francophone undergraduates to help the experimenter the least when she wore the niqab and to help her the most when she wore western style clothing.

As seen in the El-Geledi and Bourhis (2010) study, results also revealed that ratings of Quebec Anglophones (Whites) were more negative than those toward Haitian Black Francophones, attesting to the enduring presence of anti-English linguisticism in Quebec. Consequently, we expected Francophone undergraduates to help the experimenter the least when she was perceived as a double-outgroup member: when she wore the niqab and made a plea for directions in English. In contrast, we expected more helping when the experimenter was portrayed as a double-ingroup member: wearing western clothing and making a plea in French.

It was proposed that ingroup/outgroup categorization was less likely to affect helping behavior when the cost of helping was very low such as giving directions for the university bookstore. A recent field study measuring helping behavior toward a lesbian or a gay man showed that the high cost request rather than the low cost one elicited differential helping responses favoring the heterosexual over the homosexual requester (Hendren & Blank, 2009).

In order to further test the cost-benefit analysis of helping, our study included phase 2 which increased the cost of helping. Following her plea for directions in phase 1 of the study, the experimenter walked to the bookstore away from the undergraduate participants. The same undergraduates were immediately accosted by a White female confederate stating that

they had just participated in a study and that their help was needed to complete a two-page questionnaire. This female confederate was dressed in western clothing and spoke in fluent French to voice her plea for completing the questionnaire. As in the foot-in-the-door technique, the second plea for help required more time and effort to complete than the request for directions in phase 1 of the study (Freedman & Fraser, 1966).

Could the religious dress code and language choices of the experimenter in phase 1 of the study indirectly influence helping behavior toward the female confederate dressed in western clothing in phase 2 of the study? Given the higher cost of helping in phase 2 of the study, we did expect the dress code and language background of the experimenter in phase 1 to have an indirect effect on helping toward the confederate in phase 2. Thus, Francophone undergraduates were expected to be more willing to help by completing the questionnaire in phase 2, after they had been asked for directions by the experimenter dressed in western clothing and/or speaking French (single or double ingroup). In contrast, Francophones were less likely expected to complete the questionnaire in phase 2 when the experimenter in phase 1 was wearing a niqab and/or speaking English (single or double outgroup).

The questionnaire completed in phase 2 of the study measured endorsement of acculturation orientations following the contrasting religious dress code and language choice conditions manipulated in phase 1 of the study. On one hand, we propose that relative to the double ingroup experimenter condition, the double outgroup experimenter condition could prime existing religious and language tensions and result in stronger endorsement of segregationist and exclusionist acculturation orientation to the detriment of more welcoming orientations such as integrationism and individualism. On the other hand, given the IAM premise that acculturation orientations are quite stable and strongly embedded cognitively and emotionally, one could expect acculturation orientations measured in Phase 2 of the study to *not* be affected by the religious dress code or language choices of the experimenter in Phase 1 of the study.

Method

Participants

This field experiment was conducted with a total of 323 Quebec Francophone undergraduate pedestrians, of whom 131 were females and 192 were males. The mean age of the undergraduates was 23.5 ($SD = 5.10$). The six experimental conditions varying single and double ingroup vs. outgroup memberships of the experimenter at phase 1 involved the following respondents: 52 participants (28 females, 24 males) were accosted in the French-western condition, while 58 participants (35 females, 23 males) were accosted in the English-western condition. Also, 67 participants (40 females, 27 males) were accosted in the French-hijab condition, while 66 participants (40 females, 26 males) were accosted in the English-hijab condition. Finally, 40 participants (25 females, 15 males) were accosted in the French-niqab condition, while 40 participants (24 females, 16 males) were accosted in the English-niqab condition. All respondents who participated in the study had French as a first language and were born in Quebec.

Procedure

At phase 1 of the study, using a face-to-face version of the matched-guise technique (Bourhis et al., 2007c), Quebec Francophone undergraduates were randomly accosted by the same female experimenter, who voiced a plea for directions in either fluent French or fluent English. The female experimenter was wearing either western style clothing, the hijab, or the niqab (see Figure 1). The use of the same person in all experimental conditions had the advantage of controlling for paralinguistic voice cues, speech style cues including accent in French and English, physical attractiveness, non-verbal behavior, age, and social class.

Undergraduates were accosted during daytime class hours on the French speaking campus of the University of Montreal. The content-controlled 30-second plea was a query for the location of the university bookstore which was situated at a right angle, 300 meters from the experimental setting. As in previous field studies, it is noteworthy that at the moment of the experimental encounter, pedestrians were not aware that they were taking part in a study (Bourhis et al., 2007c). This procedure elicited more candid responses from the participants.

The data were collected across several weekdays in September and October 2007, from

10:00 until 18:00 hours while undergraduates were going to and from their classes. The study was only conducted during non-rainy, mild days. Only people who were on their own were approached. This procedure eliminated possible social impact differences in helping behavior due to the diffusion of responsibility associated with groups of individuals (Latané, 1981). The experimenter made a plea for directions to every second pedestrian she encountered thus ensuring random selection of respondents.

In phase 2 of the study, immediately after the experimenter left toward the university bookstore, the Francophone participants were approached by the White female confederate. The confederate explained in French that they had just taken part in a survey about the use of French and English in Montreal. She then asked participants if they were willing to complete a two-page- questionnaire. Participants who agreed, completed the three-minute questionnaire and were debriefed. Participants who declined to complete the questionnaire were also debriefed.

Questionnaire Measures

All variables were measured using a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *not at all* or *do not agree at all*; 5 = *very much* or *strongly agree* or *extremely well*).

Language background and knowledge of English. Only respondents who had French as a mother tongue and were born in Quebec were included as participants for data analysis. In order to assess the impact of second language competence on language convergence, all Francophone participants rated their competence in spoken English.

Acculturation orientations. Acculturation orientations were measured toward immigrants in the private domain of cultural integration in Quebec. The Host Community Acculturation Scale (HCAS) was used to measure the following six acculturation orientations toward immigrants: individualism, integrationism, integrationism transformation, assimilationism, segregationism and exclusionism (Barrette et al., 2005; Bourhis et al., 2008).

Emotions in presence of experimenter. Four items measured the emotions participant felt while giving directions to the experimenter: To what extent did you feel the following emotions in the presence of the person who asked you for direction to the bookstore: at ease/

intrigued/ afraid/ pity?

Manipulation check. Impressions of the experimenter were assessed on the following four items: attractiveness, religiousness, speaking understandable French/English, and speaking French/English with an accent. Respondents also rated the experimenter on the following items: “How often have you seen a person dressed like this on the streets?”; “I like the way this person is dressed”; and “I would like to have this person as a friend”.

Results

Note that the following results only refer to participants who completed the questionnaire.

Manipulation check

A 2 (language of plea) X 3 (dress code conditions) X 2 (gender) three-way ANOVA was conducted for each of the four manipulation check items. Results revealed no three-way or two-way interactions. They did, however, reveal a dress code main effect as seen in Table 1. Participants reported seeing both the western attire and the hijab more often on the streets of Montreal than the niqab. Confirming our religious dress code manipulation, participants rated the experimenter as the least religious in the western condition, as moderately religious in the hijab condition, and as the most religious in the niqab condition.

As shown in Table 1, participants rated the experimenter as speaking French or English in a highly understandable manner and with almost no accent regardless of experimental conditions, attesting to the stability of the experimenter’s bilingual competence and quality of speech. This suggests that the fluently bilingual experimenter was successful in depicting herself as an authentic first language speaker and this, whether she used French or English in her encounters with the participants. Though the experimenter was rated as quite understandable in all conditions, a main effect of language choice did emerge, $F(1, 191) = 4.87, p = .029, \eta^2 = .03$. As expected, given that participants had French as a mother tongue, the experimenter was rated to be speaking in a more understandable manner when she spoke French ($M = 4.5$) than when she spoke English ($M = 4.3$). Taken together, these results confirm the success of the religious dress code and language manipulation.

Table 1: Quebec Francophone rating of the experimenter depending on dress code conditions at phase 1

| | Western (n = 72) | Hijab (n = 68) | Niqab (n = 69) | Tests | η^2 |
|---|----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|----------|
| | M (sd) | | | | |
| <i>Manipulation Check</i> | | | | F (2,196) | |
| How often seen on street | 3.97 (0.81) a | 4.10 (0.93) a | 2.71 (1.02) b | 44.97*** | .32 |
| How religious | 1.26 (0.63) c | 3.46 (1.26) b | 4.34 (0.86) a | 178.01*** | .65 |
| Speaks understandable French / English | 4.41 (0.83) | 4.40 (0.84) | 4.43 (0.61) | 0.18, $p = .98$ | .00 |
| Speaks with an accent | 2.32 (1.33) | 2.30 (1.18) | 2.12 (1.17) | 0.73, $p = .48$ | .01 |
| <i>Perception of experimenter</i> | | | | F (2,191) | |
| Attractive | 3.07 (1.06) a | 2.98 (1.08) a | 2.43 (1.12) b | 8.70*** | .08 |
| Like her dress style | 3.54 (0.76) a | 3.03 (0.95) b | 2.12 (1.05) c | 37.77*** | .28 |
| Would like as a friend | 3.26 (0.99) | 3.45 (0.99) | 3.18 (0.78) | 1.57, $p = .21$ | .02 |
| <i>Emotions in presence of experimenter</i> | | | | χ^2 (2, $N = 210$) | |
| Intrigued | 45.8 % b | 47.8 % b | 68.1 % a | 8.52* | |
| At ease | 52.8 % b | 63.8 % a | 39.1 % c | 8.42* | |
| Afraid | 1.4 % | 1.4 % | 5.8 % | 3.20, $p = .20$ | |
| Pity | 4.2 % | 2.9 % | 10.1 % | 3.85, $p = .15$ | |

Note. Scores range from 1 (totally disagree) to 5 (totally agree). For Manipulation check and Perception of experimenter: Three-way ANOVAs, F represents main effect of dress code significant at * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$. Post-hoc analyses with a Bonferroni correction are indicated through alphabetical symbols (a b c); mean scores on a same row that do not share a common alphabetical subscript differ at $p < .05$ (a>b>c). For Emotions in presence of experimenter: Chi-square tests are significant at * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$. Post-hoc tests representing Z scores > 1.96 are indicated through alphabetical symbols (a b c); counts on a same row that do not share a common alphabetical subscript differ at $p < .05$ (a>b>c).

Perceptions of the experimenter. How favorably was the experimenter perceived by male and female participants? A 2 (language of plea) X 3 (dress code conditions) X 2 (gender) three-way ANOVA was conducted for each of the perception items. There were no significant three-way interactions. There was a significant interaction between dress code and gender for rating of experimenter's attractiveness, $F(2, 191) = 3.40$, $p = .036$, $\eta^2 = .03$. Results showed that male participants found the experimenter less attractive when she wore the niqab ($M = 2.0$) than when she wore western clothing ($M = 3.2$, $p = .018$) and the hijab ($M = 2.6$, $p = .42$). As seen in Table 1, there was also a main effect of dress code for rating the attractiveness of the experimenter. Male and female participants found the experimenter less attractive when she wore the niqab than when she wore either western clothing or the

hijab.

There was a significant interaction between dress code and gender for wanting the experimenter as a friend, $F(2, 191) = 4.79, p = .009, \eta^2 = .05$. Results showed that female, but not male participants wanted the experimenter more as a friend when she wore the hijab ($M = 3.8, p = .029$) than when she wore western clothing ($M = 3.2$), though no difference emerged for the niqab ($M = 3.4, p = .51$).

Results revealed a significant interaction between gender and language choice for participants wanting the experimenter as a friend, $F(1, 191) = 5.5, p = .020, \eta^2 = .03$. Francophone female participants wanted the experimenter more as a friend when she spoke French ($M = 3.6$) than when she spoke English ($M = 3.3$). In contrast, Francophone men wanted the experimenter more as a friend when she spoke English ($M = 3.2$) than when she spoke French ($M = 2.9$).

There was also a significant interaction between language and dress code for liking the dress style of the experimenter, $F(2, 191) = 3.08, p = .048, \eta^2 = .03$. When the experimenter's plea was voiced in French, there was no difference in liking the experimenter's dress style whether she wore western clothing or the hijab. There was, however, a difference between the two dress code conditions when the experimenter's plea for direction was voiced in English: participants liked her dress style more when she wore the western clothing ($M = 3.6$) than when she wore the hijab ($M = 2.7, p < .001$). As seen in Table 1, participants liked the dress style of the experimenter the least when she wore the niqab and the most when she wore western clothing.

There was a main effect of gender for the rating of experimenter's attractiveness, $F(1, 191) = 6.61, p = .011, \eta^2 = .03$, and wanting her as a friend, $F(1, 191) = 8.47, p = .004, \eta^2 = .04$. Overall, female participants found the experimenter more attractive ($M = 3.2$) and wanted her more as a friend ($M = 3.5$) than did male participants ($M_s = 2.7$ and 3.1 , respectively).

Emotions in presence of experimenter

There was a ceiling effect for feeling at ease in the presence of the experimenter ($M = 4.40, SD = 0.72$) and a floor effect for feeling intrigued ($M = 2.15, SD = 1.22$), afraid ($M = 1.03, SD = 0.20$), and pity ($M = 1.09, SD = 0.33$). We therefore dichotomized each emotion

variable and performed chi-square analyses. Chi-squares revealed no significant gender differences for any of the emotion items. They also revealed no differences between the language conditions except for feeling at ease: as anticipated, Francophone participants felt more at ease in the presence of the experimenter when she spoke to them in French (70%) than when she spoke to them in English (34%; $\chi^2(1, N = 210) = 26.11, p < .001$).

Chi-square and Post-hoc tests comparing the effect of dress code conditions on the emotions participants felt in the presence of the experimenter are shown in Table 1. Participants felt more intrigued in the presence of the experimenter when she wore the niqab ($Z = 2.9$) than when she wore the hijab or western clothing. Conversely, they felt less at ease in the presence of the experimenter when she wore the niqab ($Z = -2.6$) than when she wore western clothing or the hijab. Participants felt more at ease when the experimenter wore the hijab ($Z = 2.4$) than when she wore western clothing or the niqab. Chi-square tests revealed that participants did not feel afraid in the presence of the experimenter and did not feel pity for her regardless of her dress code.

Helping behavior

Phase 1: Giving directions to the experimenter. All pedestrians who took part in the study provided accurate directions to the university bookstore regardless of the language used by the experimenter. All respondents also gave accurate directions whether the experimenter was dressed in western clothes, wore the hijab or, the niqab.

Phase 1: Language convergence. In general, self-reports of English language competence were rated as very good ($M = 4.03$) by Francophone respondents; thus ensuring that lack of English language skills was not a factor accounting for difference in language convergence and language maintenance.

As seen in Table 2, all male and female Francophones accosted in French for directions responded in French attesting to the fluency of the experimenter in portraying herself as a native French speaker. Results also showed that 161/164 Francophone respondents did converge to English (98%) with the experimenter who voiced her plea for directions in English. We could not perform a chi-square test to compare participants who converged with those who did not given that the expected frequencies could not be respected. Consequently,

we performed a Fisher exact test which does not have this constraint (Siegel & Castellan, 1988). The Fisher exact test revealed that the difference between Francophones who converged to English and those who maintained French was not significant ($p = 0.13$). A Fisher exact test comparing language convergence of Francophones showed no significant differences between the three dress conditions (p between 0.28 and 0.68). Finally, no gender effects were found in the language choices of the Francophone participants.

Table 2: Quebec Francophone use of French or English depending on the dress code and French/English plea of the experimenter at phase 1

| | Western dress code (n = 110) | | Hijab dress code (n = 133) | | Niqab dress code (n = 80) | | Total participants (N = 323) | |
|--|--|--------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------|
| | Number of participants who replied to the experimenter in: | | | | | | | |
| | French | English | French | English | French | English | French | English |
| Experimenter plea for direction in French | 52/52 | 0/52 | 67/67 | 0/67 | 40/40 | 0/40 | 159/159 | 0/159 |
| Experimenter plea for direction in English | 0/58 | 58/58 ¹ | 2/66 ¹ | 64/66 ¹ | 1/40 ¹ | 39/40 ¹ | 3/164 ¹ | 161/164 ¹ |

Note. 1. *Language convergence*: Quebec Francophones switch to English in response to the plea voiced in English by the experimenter.

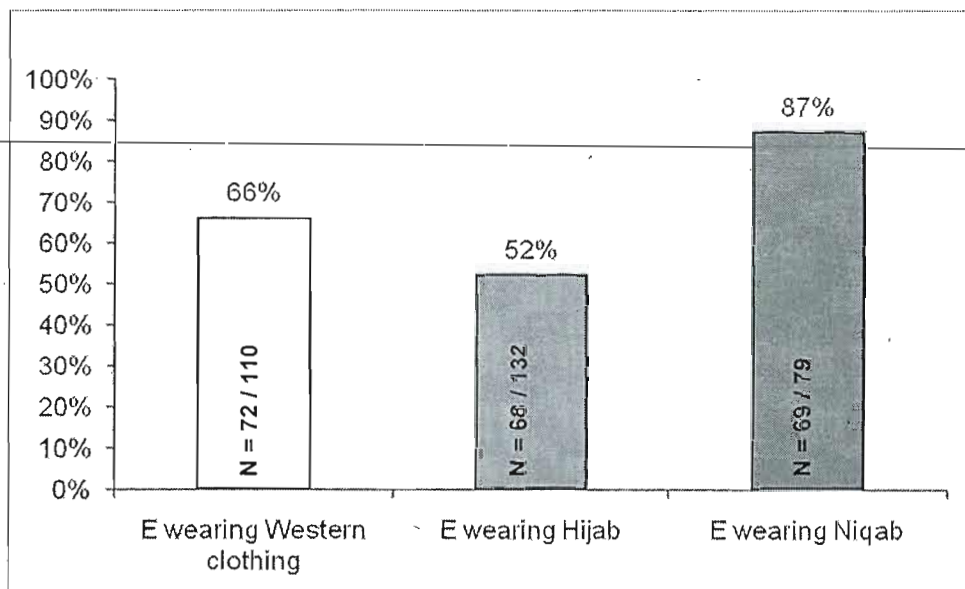
Phase 2: Completing the questionnaire. We first compared willingness to complete the questionnaire in the two language conditions regardless of the dress code of the experimenter. Whether the plea for directions was voiced in French or English, 65% of the Francophone pedestrians were willing to answer the questionnaire proposed by the French speaking confederate.

Next, we compared the number of participants completing the questionnaire for the confederate at phase 2 based on the dress code of the experimenter at phase 1. As seen in Figure 2, results showed that 65% of participants answered the questionnaire when the experimenter wore western clothing compared to 52% when the experimenter wore the hijab. Surprisingly, 87% of participants were willing to answer the questionnaire when the experimenter wore the niqab. A chi-square test comparing the willingness to answer the

questionnaire showed a significant difference between the three dress code conditions, $\chi^2(2, N = 321) = 27.93, p < .001$. Post-hoc tests indicated that participants were less willing to answer the questionnaire when the experimenter was wearing the hijab ($Z = 4.3, p < .001$) than the other two dress code conditions; and more willing to answer the questionnaire when the experimenter was wearing the niqab ($Z = -4.8, p < .001$) than when she wore western clothing or the hijab.

A chi-square comparing willingness to answer the questionnaire by gender revealed that male participants (72%) were more willing to complete the questionnaire for the female confederate than were female participants (61%; $\chi^2(1, N = 321) = 3.98, p = .046$).

Figure 2. Percentage of Quebec Francophones who completed the questionnaire in phase 2 as a function of the dress code of the experimenter (E) in phase 1 of the study.



Acculturation orientations

Did the linguistic and religious category membership of the experimenter in phase 1 affect endorsement of acculturation orientations toward immigrants in phase 2? A 2 (language of plea) X 3 (dress code conditions) X 6 (acculturation orientations) repeated measure ANOVA revealed no significant interactions, but did reveal a main effect for acculturation orientations toward immigrants, $F(5, 1005) = 234.08, p < .001, \eta^2 = .53$. Post-hoc analyses revealed that endorsement of each acculturation orientation differed significantly from each other ($p < .001$) except for assimilationism and exclusionism, which were endorsed to the same degree ($p = .44$). Francophones endorsed integrationism the most ($M = 4.0$), followed by segregationism ($M = 3.6$). They moderately endorsed individualism ($M = 2.8$) followed by integrationism transformation ($M = 2.4$), and endorsed assimilationism ($M = 1.4$) and exclusionism ($M = 1.3$) the least. There were no main effects of language or dress code conditions, indicating that the dress code of the experimenter as well as her language choices did not have an impact on endorsement of acculturation orientations.

Discussion

Though Quebec language laws were designed to increase the status and use of French relative to English in Montreal, results obtained with Francophone respondents revealed that: a) all participants gave accurate directions to the experimenter regardless of her plea voiced in French or English and b) participants overwhelmingly converged to English when responding to the plea voiced in English by the experimenter. Thus, thirty years after the adoption of Bill 101, our field study revealed the same English convergence results as those obtained with Quebec Francophones in the 1991 and 1997 field studies with the White and Black experimenters asking for directions in English in Montreal (Bourhis et al., 2007b). Furthermore, the language in which the plea was voiced by the experimenter at phase 1 did not have an impact on the higher cost request made by the Francophone confederate at phase 2 of the study. Francophone undergraduates were as willing to complete the questionnaire proposed by the confederate regardless of the French or English use of the experimenter in phase 1 of the study. Thus, for Quebec Francophone undergraduates the language of request

used by the experimenter did not have an impact on cross-cultural helping behavior in either the low cost or high cost conditions.

Even though Francophone undergraduates could invoke Bill 101 as the legal framework supporting their quest for collective affirmation and linguistic differentiation from English speaking interlocutors, they did not choose French language maintenance to assert such social identity needs. As in the 1997 pedestrian studies with Quebec Francophone undergraduates, language choices in our 2007 field study were mainly influenced by the individual and interpersonal needs of the interlocutors in the immediacy of their bilingual encounter (Bourhis et al., 2007b). Taken together, these results suggest that despite ongoing nationalist rhetoric highlighting the threat to French in Quebec, our cross-cultural encounters were emptied of their divisive linguistic symbolism and were instead concerned with the needs of interpersonal accommodation and communicative effectiveness.

Perceptions of the experimenter did vary in line with her dress code characteristics: overall, Francophone participants had much less favorable perceptions of the experimenter when she wore the niqab than when she wore western attire. Yet, these unfavorable perceptions of the veiled experimenter were not related to actual helping behavior in phase 1 of the study. Contrary to expectations, all Francophones helped the experimenter by giving her accurate directions to the university bookstore whether she was dressed in western clothing, or wore the hijab or the niqab. Furthermore, Quebec Francophones were as likely to help the experimenter when she was portrayed as a double outgroup member (niqab and English plea) as when she was portrayed as a double ingroup member (western clothing and French plea). These consistent helping behaviors were obtained despite negative portrayal of women wearing the Islamic veil in the French media and unfavorable attitudes toward women wearing the niqab expressed by Quebec Francophones (El-Geledi & Bourhis, 2010).

Taken together, these results support the notion that when the cost of helping is very low, the ingroup vs. outgroup membership of the requester may have little impact on the decision to help. In the Quebec French “secular” setting, this may be the case even when the category membership of the requester is as salient and unambiguous as wearing the niqab and voicing a plea for help in English. In line with the aversive racism perspective, the salience of the Islamic veil and of the English language pleas in phase 1 of the study may have been such

that it was difficult for Francophone undergraduates to withhold helping without fear of appearing prejudiced (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986).

At phase 2 of the study, helping by completing the two-page-questionnaire was more costly, indirect, and more ambiguous than at phase 1. As expected, based on the cost-benefit analysis of helping behavior, when the cost of helping increased at phase 2, participants were more willing to provide indirect help to the experimenter dressed in western clothing like themselves (66%), than to help the experimenter portrayed as a religious outgroup wearing the hijab (52%). Thus, ingroup favoritism in helping behavior emerged in phase 2 as the cost of helping increased and as the ambiguity of the indirect helping situation also increased.

Arguably, the lower helping behavior obtained when the experimenter wore the hijab could be construed as a case of aversive racism expressed in an ambiguous intergroup encounter such as the one created in phase 2 of the study. Recently, Hodson, Dovidio & Gaertner (2009) proposed that "aversive racism represents a subtle form of bias typically expressed by well-intentioned, liberal, and highly educated individuals (...) aversive racists are more likely to express prejudice and discrimination under conditions of situational ambiguity..." (p.2).

Contrary to the classic ingroup favoritism effect, Francophone undergraduates were more likely to complete the questionnaire for the confederate in phase 2 after they had been approached by the experimenter wearing the niqab (87%) than when wearing the hijab (52%) or western clothing (66%). This result is in line with a recent study showing that Quebec Francophone undergraduates evaluated Arab Muslims more favorably in the presence of an experimenter wearing the niqab than when wearing western clothing (El-Geledi & Bourhis, 2010). Concordant with an exoticism effect, more participants may have completed the questionnaire at phase 2 in the niqab condition because they hoped that by doing so they would find out more about the experimenter behind the niqab. As revealed in the emotions scale, participants were indeed more intrigued in the presence of the experimenter wearing the niqab than when she wore western clothing or the hijab, and this despite the negative media attention levied against women wearing the niqab in Quebec.

From an aversive racism perspective, the more ambiguous higher cost request voiced by the Francophone confederate at phase 2 should have prompted Francophone participants to

help even less in the niqab condition than in the western dress and hijab conditions. That helping was greatest in the niqab condition undermines an aversive racism account of helping behavior in this experimental condition. However, we may entertain the hypothesis that the niqab condition was so novel and salient for Francophone undergraduates that it made the helping request at phase 2 as unambiguous as the one at phase 1. Recall that participants reported seeing much fewer women wearing the niqab on the streets of Montreal than women wearing the hijab or western clothing. Thus, from an aversive racism perspective, refusing to help the confederate who was associated with the experimenter wearing the niqab could be construed by undergraduates as a transparent manifestation of prejudice against Muslim women. These results may be akin to those obtained in aversive racism experiments conducted in the United States. For example, Gaertner & Dovidio (1977) found that White participants helped Black persons more than White persons when they were placed in a clearly defined unambiguous situation in which failure to help a Black person could be easily construed as racist behavior.

We must also propose a counterstereotype effect as an alternative explanation accounting for the strong helping behavior obtained at phase 2 in the niqab condition. Recall that Francophones in our previous attitude study perceived photos of women wearing the niqab as less intelligent and more passive than women wearing western clothing (El-Geledi & Bourhis, 2010). However, at phase 1 of the present study, participants were faced with an experimenter on a university campus wearing the niqab who took the initiative to accost them for directions in fluent French or fluent English. Recall that the experimenter was perceived equally desirable as a friend whether she was wearing western clothing, the hijab, or the niqab. This positive counterstereotypical representation of a woman wearing the niqab may have made participants more willing to help the experimenter in the niqab condition than in the hijab or western dress style conditions. The present findings are in line with studies showing that being exposed to counterstereotypic minority leaders and to female scientists reduced automatic gender stereotypes and prejudice on an Implicit Association Test (Dasgupta & Asgari, 2004; Dasgupta & Greenwald, 2001; Richeson & Ambady, 2003).

Other than the necessary debriefing about the purpose of the study, respondents had virtually no time to participate in an extended interview about cross-cultural helping

behavior, counterstereotypes, and aversive racism. A future study involving semi-structured interviews could provide more insights about the role of aversive racism and counterstereotype effects in accounting for helping behavior toward devalued linguistic and religious outgroups in Quebec. Moreover, future field experiments could increase the cost of helping the experimenter in phase 1 of the study to further test the role of religious vs. linguistic categorization cues in accounting for intergroup helping in divided societies such as Quebec.

Overall, the linguistic and religious background of the experimenter and the confederate did not differentially polarize endorsement of acculturation orientations toward immigrants. Whether the experimenter was represented as a double ingroup or double outgroup member did not affect the acculturation orientations endorsed by the Quebec Francophone undergraduates who took part in our study. These results support the IAM premise that acculturation orientations are stable and more strongly and deeply embedded cognitively and emotionally than intergroup attitudes. However, these results were obtained only with participants who decided to help by completing the questionnaire for the French speaking confederate. Respondents who decided not to help may have endorsed less welcoming acculturation orientations than those who did help in completing the questionnaire.

Quebec Francophone undergraduates mainly endorsed the welcoming acculturation orientation of integrationism toward immigrants. They moderately endorsed individualism and weakly endorsed integrationism transformation. Conversely, Francophones were least likely to endorse unwelcoming acculturation orientations such as assimilationism and exclusionism. These results corroborate previous findings obtained with Francophone undergraduates in Quebec (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001, 2004). However, high endorsement of segregationism and moderate endorsement of individualism is different from our previous Quebec findings which usually showed strong endorsement of individualism and a weak endorsement of segregationism. Weaker endorsement of individualism and stronger endorsement of segregationism reflects increasingly intolerant views of immigrant minorities espoused by Quebec nationalist politicians and by increasing segments of the Quebec Francophone population as revealed by recent public opinion polls in the province.

Concluding note

On almost a daily basis during the field study, French media headlines denounced unreasonable demands made by ethnic and religious minorities in Quebec. Despite the rising climate of intolerance towards Arab Muslims in general and against women wearing the niqab in particular, the present study revealed that in a face-to-face situation Quebec Francophone undergraduates were more likely to help the Francophone confederate when the experimenter wore the niqab than when she wore the ingroup western dress. While public opinion polls provide timely snapshots of ethnic attitudes held by representative samples of the general population, actual behavioral responses toward valued and devalued minorities obtained in field experiments enrich our understanding of cross-cultural relations in complex divided societies such as Quebec.

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CHAPITRE IV

DISCUSSION GÉNÉRALE

This final chapter underlines the scientific contribution of the studies that make up this thesis and offers three thematic sections. The first section deals with theoretical and practical implications based on the main results obtained in the thesis. The second section deals with methodological limitations of the studies. The third section suggests possible future studies that could contribute to the advancement of the acculturation research field.

4.1 Theoretical and practical implications

4.1.1 Quebec Francophone attitudes toward women wearing the Islamic veil

In the Western world, extensive media coverage and political debates have emerged about the Islamic veil in general and especially about wearing the niqab in public settings. However, few empirical studies have investigated host majority attitudes toward the Islamic veil other than the study by Saroglou et al. (2009) in Belgium. Thus, the studies of this thesis offer a unique contribution to the field by showing that host majority members not only hold differential attitudes toward the hijab compared to the niqab but are also more or less likely to help an ingroup confederate depending on the type of Islamic veil worn by an experimenter.

Concordant with the negative portrayal of the hijab and especially the niqab in the Quebec mass media, Quebec Francophone undergraduates had less favourable attitudes toward a woman in a photo wearing a hijab and even less toward a woman wearing the niqab than a woman in a photo wearing western style clothing (Study 1). The woman wearing the niqab was rated less competent, trustworthy, intelligent, attractive, and friendly than the woman dressed in western clothing. However, when Quebec Francophones were in the actual physical presence of a female experimenter wearing either western clothing, the hijab, or the niqab, they rated her as intelligent, competent, and trustworthy regardless of her dress code (Study 2).

These results suggest that when individuals are asked to rate a depersonalized representative of a devalued religious outgroup (photos), their explicitly negative attitudes toward this group can be quite concordant with prejudices held against such groups within the community, in public opinion polls, and the media. However, these explicit negative attitudes are attenuated when respondents anonymously rate an actual individual member of the devalued religious outgroup who is in their physical presence within the classroom. As was shown in both Studies 1 and 2, Quebec Francophones have little daily contact with women who wear the Islamic veil. It is thus likely that participants relied on their prejudices to rate photos of the fictitious veiled women. However, when rating an actual veiled experimenter, respondents used individualizing information within the classroom setting rather than prevailing prejudices against veiled women. As shown in Study 1, the more participants reported seeing women wearing the niqab in public settings, the more favourable were their attitudes toward women wearing the niqab. Likewise, in Study 2, Quebec Francophones who were in personal contact with the veiled experimenter rated the experimenter wearing the hijab and niqab as favourably as the western experimenter. Therefore, merely being in the presence of an outgroup member whom one does not usually have contact with might be enough to foster more favourable attitudes toward them. It remains that the more elaborate conditions proposed by the Contact Hypothesis (Allport, 1954) to foster more favourable intergroup attitudes would be needed to ensure more lasting favourable attitudes (for review, see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006)

4.1.2 Impact of ethnic, linguistic, and religious outgroup membership on endorsement of acculturation orientations

No study to date has tested the premise of the IAM which states that acculturation orientations are more stable and more strongly and deeply embedded cognitively and emotionally than intergroup attitudes in an intergroup context. Studies in a controlled-classroom-environment (Study 2) and in a field experiment (Study 3) attest to this basic premise of the IAM. Whereas Quebec Francophone attitudes (Study 2) and behaviours

(Study 3) were affected by the presence of a woman wearing the Islamic veil, endorsement of acculturation orientations remained stable. Regardless of the single or double outgroup membership of the experimenter, endorsement of acculturation orientations toward Arab Muslims and immigrants in general remained stable with the exception of individualism in Study 2.

These results suggest that acculturation orientations are closer to a belief than ethnic attitudes that are more easily malleable by individual and collective critical incidents and circumstances. This suggests that acculturation orientations toward immigrants are deeply embedded and acquired during childhood and adolescence through socialization by parents, peers, and educational institutions (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Guimond, Dambrun, Michinov, & Duarte, 2003). Results are encouraging as host majority undergraduates in the thesis studies preferred welcoming rather than rejecting acculturation orientations toward devalued Arab Muslim immigrants (Study 2) and immigrants in general (Study 3). If, as the results of this thesis suggest, these acculturation orientations remain stable as host majority undergraduates progress through the lifespan, then intergroup relations between immigrants and members of the host community should be more harmonious than problematic. However, it remains that the undergraduates sampled in the thesis studies have not had much experience in competing with immigrants for jobs, promotions, and other scarce resources. Studies using Realistic Conflict Theory (Sherif, 1951; Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, & Sherif, 1961) have shown that prejudice and antipathy toward immigrants can increase substantially when host majorities are made more aware of immigrants as competitors for scarce resources (e.g., Esses, Jackson, Nolan, & Armstrong, 1999; Zárate, García, Garza, & Hitlan, 2004).

4.1.3 Impact of ethnic, linguistic, and religious outgroup membership on Quebec Francophone attitudes and helping behaviour toward Arab Muslims

Concordant with the IAM premise, attitudes (Study 2) and helping behaviour (Study 3) were less stable than acculturation orientations. However, only religious category membership affected attitudes and helping behaviour of Quebec Francophones. Attitudes and helping behaviour toward Arab Muslims, in both a low and high cost helping conditions, remained stable regardless of the experimenter's ethnic (Arabic) or linguistic (Anglophone) outgroup membership. Results suggest that when religious affiliation is made salient through wearing of the Islamic veil, then the religious marker may become a more potent predictor of discrimination than linguistic affiliation or ethnicity (see also, Sheridan, 2006).

In line with public opinion polls and unfavourable attitudes toward women who wear the hijab (Study 1), Francophone participants showed less helping behaviour toward the confederate when the experimenter wore the hijab (52%) than when she wore western clothing (66%) in the high cost helping conditions (Study 3). According to the aversive racism literature, individuals are more likely to express their prejudice and to discriminate in an ambiguous situation when the unfavourable attitudes or behaviours can be justified on non-racial grounds (Hodson et al., 2009). The ingroup confederate approaching participants after they had provided directions to the experimenter wearing the hijab and asking them to complete a questionnaire could be seen as an ambivalent helping situation. Participants were made aware by the confederate of the research collaboration between her and the experimenter. However, it was easier to justify not helping the French speaking confederate on the 'non-racial ground' of lacking time to complete a two-page questionnaire than to refuse help to a veiled Muslim outgroup experimenter when the cost of helping was low. Thus, results of Study 3 showing that participants indirectly discriminated against the experimenter wearing the hijab are in line with aversive racism research.

As predicted, the experimenter wearing the niqab affected attitudes and helping behaviour toward Arab Muslims but not in the intended direction. In Study 2, Quebec Francophones had less favourable attitudes toward and wanted less social proximity with Arab Muslim immigrants with the experimenter depicted as a French Canadian and dressed in the western dress code than in the explicit intercultural condition with the experimenter wearing the niqab with an Arab name. Moreover, in Study 3, participants indirectly helped the experimenter less when she was dressed in western clothing (66%) than when she was wearing the niqab (87%). Two alternative explanations could help explain these counterintuitive results. The first possible explanation is that the niqab condition created a counterstereotype effect. Study 1 showed that Francophone undergraduates perceived the woman wearing the niqab as more passive and as less intelligent, competent, trustworthy, and friendly than the woman portrayed in the western dress code. In both Studies 2 and 3, the female experimenter in each experimental condition could be seen as an independent woman who spoke either fluent French or English, who was highly educated at the Masters level, and was confident and competent as she conducted the survey study on her own in university classrooms (in Study 2). The discrepancy between the prevailing negative image of women wearing the niqab and the real-life presence of a competent experimenter wearing the niqab may have fostered a counterstereotype role effect benefitting the experimenter in the niqab condition. For Quebec Francophones, this effect may have 1) generalized to less negative ratings of Arab Muslims as an immigrant group in the province (Study 2) and 2) made pedestrian undergraduates want to help the woman in the niqab by completing the questionnaire provided by the confederate (Study 3). In line with this counterstereotype hypothesis, t-tests comparing attitudes of participants in Study 1 toward the woman wearing the niqab in the photo and attitudes in Study 2 toward the experimenter wearing the niqab in the classroom revealed the following: undergraduates rated the experimenter wearing the niqab as more competent, attractive, trustworthy, intelligent, and less threatening in Study 2 than the prototypic woman portrayed wearing the niqab in the photos presented in Study 1.

Taken together, these results are in line with studies that have found that being exposed to counterstereotypic minority leaders and to female scientists reduced automatic stereotypes and prejudice as measured on an Implicit Association Test (IAT; Dasgupta & Asgari, 2004; Dasgupta & Greenwald, 2001; Richeson & Ambady, 2003). For example, it was found that the mere presence of a Black (vs. White) high status experimenter in a university setting was sufficient to reduce automatic prejudice held by European Americans against African Americans, usually stereotyped as poor and uneducated (Lowery, Hardin, & Sinclair, 2001). In seeking to account for the above IAT results, it was proposed that the role status of the Black experimenter could be seen as producing a counterstereotypic effect, thus helping to account for the reduction of automatic prejudice expressed by European Americans (Richeson & Ambady, 2003).

This counterstereotype explanation suggests that by putting majority group members in direct contact with a devalued minority holding a counterstereotypical position of authority and responsibility may be a first step toward changing prejudicial attitudes against such devalued minorities. Allowing competent Arab Muslim women who wear the niqab in more valued role positions could produce the counterstereotype effect needed to improve general attitudes towards devalued Arab Muslims. However, as seen in Study 1 and in recent Quebec Francophone public opinion polls, there is a growing backlash against Arab Muslims and especially against veiled women using the niqab. For security, secular, gender, and symbolic reasons, recent public policy decisions have moved toward banning face veils in public settings in Quebec, France, and Belgium.

The phenomenon of aversive racism provides an alternative or complementary explanation accounting for the greater helping behaviour toward the confederate when the experimenter wore the niqab than when she wore the hijab or western clothing (Study 3). According to the aversive racism perspective, aversive racism is “a form of contemporary prejudice [that] represents a subtle form of bias typically expressed by well-intentioned, liberal, and highly educated individuals” (Hodson et al., 2009, p.2). A classic aversive racism study by Gaertner and Dovidio (1977) showed that White participants helped Black persons

more than White persons when they were placed in a clearly defined situation in which failure to help a Black person could be easily construed as discriminatory behaviour. On the assumption that the niqab was an extremely salient religious category cue, given the rarity of women who wear the niqab in Quebec (Ouimet, 2007), the indirect helping behaviour toward the experimenter wearing the niqab could be considered a non-ambiguous situation. This would mean that refusing to help the confederate who was associated with the experimenter wearing the niqab could be seen as a transparent sign of discriminatory behaviour. It is thus reasonable to suggest that more Francophone participants in Study 3 completed the questionnaire in the niqab condition because a non-helping response could have been interpreted as discriminatory.

Following a similar line of reasoning, could aversive racism also account for less favourable attitudes toward Arab Muslims in the western clothing control condition than in the niqab condition in Study 2? If aversive racism completely accounted for the results in Study 2, then attitudes toward the experimenter should have also been more favourable in the niqab condition than in the control condition. However, attitudes toward the experimenter remained stable across the four experimental conditions. Thus, neither aversive racism nor counterstereotype completely account for the results found with the niqab in both Studies 2 and 3. Future research is needed in order to better account for the counterintuitive results obtained in the niqab condition in Studies 2 and 3. Note that similar counterintuitive results were also obtained in niqab conditions with English Canadians in Southern Ontario and with French respondents in Lorraine, France in other studies using the same experimental design as Study 2 (El-Geledi, Bourhis, & Safdar, 2007; El-Geledi & Bourhis, 2008).

4.2 Research limitations

Despite their contribution to the psychology of acculturation, the three studies offered in this thesis did have some methodological limitations. First, participants in the three studies were Quebec Francophone university undergraduates. This homogeneous sample allows for certain advantages such as controlling for age, level of education, and

socio-economic status. Studies have shown that the university education of undergraduates is associated with more liberal and tolerant attitudes toward ethnic minorities (Guimond, 1992; Guimond & Palmer, 1996). These positive attitudes toward diversity are concordant with the individualist and meritocratic organisational culture of post-secondary education (Bourhis et al., 2009b). Thus, the acculturation orientations, religious attitudes, and helping behaviour obtained in the current studies might not be generalized to non-academic samples of the Quebec population.

Second, the stability of acculturation orientations in Study 3 cannot be entirely confirmed. Results obtained only reflected those of participants who completed the questionnaire. As results demonstrated, there was a significant difference between willingness to complete the questionnaire depending on the experimenter's dress code. We therefore do not know if the participants who completed the questionnaires had more welcoming acculturation orientations than those who did not complete the questionnaires. Quebec Francophones who did not help the confederate may be those more likely to endorse unwelcoming acculturation orientations such as assimilationism, segregationism, and exclusionism. Moreover, perhaps the experimental conditions had an effect on the acculturation orientations endorsed by the participants who decided to not complete the questionnaire in phase 2 of the experiment.

Third, in Study 3, the cost-benefit analysis of non-helping behaviour toward the confederate interpreted as an indirect discriminatory behaviour toward the experimenter cannot be entirely confirmed. A future study could increase the cost of helping toward the experimenter in phase 1 of the study as a way of further testing the cost-benefit analysis of helping proposed in our analyses (Ames, Flynn, & Weber, 2004; Piliavin, Dovidio, Gaertner, & Clark, 1981).

4.3 Future studies

This thesis contributed to the advancement of knowledge on the stability of acculturation orientations and on the attitudes and helping behaviour of host majority members toward women wearing different types of Islamic veils. However, it also raised more questions than answers regarding the impact of the niqab on intergroup attitudes and helping behaviour. Why did Quebec Francophones endorse more favourable attitudes toward Arab Muslims and helped the confederate more when they were in the presence of the experimenter wearing the niqab? We saw that both counterstereotype effect and aversive racism partly accounted for these results. To further test the counterstereotype hypothesis, future studies could more directly manipulate the role status (high vs. low) and stereotype characteristics of the experimenter in Study 2 and phase 1 of Study 3. To further test the aversive racism hypothesis, studies could manipulate the ambiguity of the intergroup helping behaviour. Furthermore, studies could combine the cost-benefit analysis of helping with the aversive racism hypotheses by manipulating the ambiguity of the discriminatory helping behaviour directly toward the experimenter wearing the niqab in a low vs. high cost of helping conditions. Finally, semi-structured qualitative interviews could provide more insights about counterintuitive ratings and behaviours toward Arab Muslims by Quebec Francophones in the presence of a woman wearing the niqab.

Extensive research on the IAM tested host majority acculturation orientations toward immigrants in general and valued vs. devalued immigrants (e.g., Bourhis et al., 1997; Bourhis & Dayan, 2004; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001, 2004; Montreuil et al., 2004; Safdar et al., 2008). Others have tested the interactive nature of the IAM by measuring both the acculturation orientations of immigrants and those of host community members along with their sociopsychological correlates (e.g., Barrette et al., 2004; Bourhis et al., 2009b; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2003; Rohmann et al., 2008). The current thesis tested the stability of host community acculturation orientations. However, studies have yet to test the predictive power of acculturation orientations. Future studies could measure acculturation orientations at time 1 before measuring helping behaviour at time 2 in order to test how well

acculturation orientations could predict helping behaviour toward valued vs. devalued immigrants.

Concluding note

Most studies of prejudice and discrimination using variations of the Implicit Association Test (IAT) were developed because norms of political correctness make it difficult for majority respondents to transparently express negative attitudes and behaviours against devalued minorities, especially in the United States and English Canada (Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson, & Howard, 1997). Results obtained in Study 1 showed that Quebec Francophones were candid in rating photos of women wearing the hijab and niqab quite negatively. In the Quebec context, it therefore seems acceptable for university undergraduates to express negative attitudes toward devalued religious outgroups such as Arab Muslims, a trend also obtained in public opinion surveys with representative samples of the Quebec population. Since the terrorist attacks by Islamist extremists in New York, Washington, London, and Madrid, candid expressions of Islamophobia remain acceptable across the Western world including university campuses. The classic Princeton studies of the 1940s and 1950s showed that it was acceptable to express negative attitudes against consensually defined enemy outgroups such as the Germans and Japanese during the Second World War and against the Russians during the Cold War (Devine & Elliott, 2000). Until further notice, candid expressions of negative attitudes against Arab Muslims seem acceptable as shown in Study 1 and public opinion polls in Quebec and Canada. However, results obtained in studies 2 and 3 showed that attitudes against Arab Muslims were less negative when respondents had the opportunity to be in direct face-to-face contact with Muslim women wearing the hijab and niqab. The small degree of individual contact with a veiled Muslim woman seems efficient to improve or at least neutralize negative attitudes. Therefore, in line with the Contact Hypothesis (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), intergroup relations between host majority members and devalued immigrants could be improved by favouring intergroup contact with Arab Muslims in prestige positions in university as was done in Studies 2 and 3 of this thesis.

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APPENDICE A

FORMULAIRE DE CONSENTEMENT AVERTI UTILISÉ POUR L'ARTICLE 1 -
ÉTUDES 1 ET 2

Formulaire de consentement averti

Lorsqu'une étude est réalisée par un membre de l'Université du Québec à Montréal, le comité de déontologie de l'Université exige le consentement écrit des participants-es.

Cette étude a pour but de mieux comprendre les perceptions sociales entretenues envers les différentes communautés culturelles du Québec. Le temps nécessaire pour compléter le questionnaire distribué en classe est d'environ 45 minutes. Il n'y a pas de compensation financière pour votre participation à cette étude. Vous avez le choix d'y participer ou non. De plus, vous avez le droit de vous retirer de l'étude en tout temps et ce, sans préjudice aucun.

Cette recherche a été rendue possible grâce à une subvention de *Patrimoine Canada* attribuée au Professeur Richard Bourhis de l'Université du Québec à Montréal. Vous pouvez rejoindre Richard Bourhis à l'adresse suivante : Département de psychologie, Université du Québec à Montréal, CP 8888, Succ. Centre-Ville, Montréal, H3C 3P8. Tél : (514) 987-3000, poste 4852.

J'accepte librement de participer à cette étude, tout en sachant que j'ai le droit de me retirer de la recherche en tout temps sans préjudice. Il est entendu que mes réponses demeurent anonymes et toutes les données sont traitées statistiquement uniquement en fonction de groupes et non sur une base individuelle.

☐ J'ai bien lu et compris ce formulaire de consentement averti. Date : _____

☐ J'accepte de participer à cette étude. Signature : _____

☐ Je préfère ne pas participer à cette étude (pas de signature requise).

APPENDICE B

QUESTIONNAIRE DE L'ARTICLE 1 - ÉTUDE 1

ÉTUDE SUR LES PERCEPTIONS
SOCIALES AU QUÉBEC
2009

Ce questionnaire est anonyme!

Dr. Richard Y. Bourhis
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Les questions qui suivent concernent vos perceptions de divers groupes sociaux au Québec. Divers énoncés vous seront présentés, chacun exprimant une opinion que vous pouvez partager ou non. Pour chaque énoncé, nous vous demandons d'exprimer votre degré d'accord. Pour ce faire, veuillez **entourer** le chiffre correspondant à **votre opinion** sur les échelles en sept points selon le code suivant:

| Pas du tout en accord 1 | Très peu en accord 2 | Un peu en accord 3 | Moyennement en accord 4 | Assez en accord 5 | Beaucoup en accord 6 | Énormément en accord 7 |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|

Ainsi, si par exemple nous vous présentons l'énoncé suivant:

*Le basketball est l'un des sports les plus
excitants du monde.* 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- Si vous êtes énormément en accord avec l'énoncé parce que vous trouvez le basketball énormément excitant, vous entourerez le chiffre 7.
- Si vous n'êtes pas du tout en accord avec l'énoncé parce que vous trouvez le basketball totalement ennuyeux, vous entourerez le chiffre 1.
- Si vous êtes moyennement en accord avec l'énoncé parce que vous ne trouvez le basketball ni excitant ni ennuyeux, vous entourerez le chiffre 4.
- Si vous trouvez le basketball excitant mais pas absolument, vous entourerez le chiffre 5 **ou** 6, selon le degré auquel vous trouvez ce sport excitant (assez ou beaucoup).
- Finalement, si vous trouvez le basketball peu excitant mais pas absolument, vous entourerez le chiffre 2 **ou** 3, selon le degré auquel vous trouvez ce sport peu excitant (très peu ou un peu).

Nous nous intéressons à vos opinions spontanées et sincères. Il n'y a pas de bonnes ou de mauvaises réponses. Sachez aussi que nous garantissons l'anonymat complet de vos réponses. Les résultats seront analysés statistiquement par groupe et non sur une base individuelle.

Note: Tout au long du questionnaire, le masculin est employé pour représenter les deux sexes et ce, dans le seul et unique but d'alléger le texte.

1)

| | | |
|---|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| a- Âge: | | |
| b- Sexe: | Masculin: <input type="checkbox"/> | Féminin: <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c- Quel est votre lieu de naissance (ville ou village, pays)? | | |
| d- Depuis combien de temps vivez-vous au Québec? (inscrire "Naissance" si vous y habitez depuis votre naissance) | | |
| e- Quelle est votre langue maternelle? | | |
| f- Autre(s) langue(s) parlée(s)? | | |
| g- Quel est le pays d'origine de votre père/tuteur ? | | |
| h- Depuis combien de temps vit-il au Québec? | | |
| i- Quelle est la langue maternelle de votre père/tuteur? | | |
| j- Autre(s) langue(s) parlée(s)? | | |
| k- Quel est le pays d'origine de votre mère/tutrice ? | | |
| l- Depuis combien de temps vit-elle au Québec? | | |
| m- Quelle est la langue maternelle de votre mère/tutrice? | | |
| n- Autre(s) langue(s) parlée(s)? | | |

3) Nous aimerions avoir vos premières impressions des femmes suivantes :

| Pas du tout 1 | Très peu 2 | Un peu 3 | Moyennement 4 | Assez 5 | Beaucoup 6 | Énormément 7 |
|------------------|---------------|-------------|------------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|
|------------------|---------------|-------------|------------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|



| | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est amicale</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est religieuse</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est compétente</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est passive</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |



| | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est amicale</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est religieuse</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est compétente</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est passive</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |



| | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est amicale</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est religieuse</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est compétente</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est passive</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |



| | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est amicale</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est religieuse</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est compétente</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est passive</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |



| | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est amicale</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est religieuse</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est compétente</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est passive</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

4) Nous aimerions avoir vos premières impressions des femmes suivantes :

| Pas du tout 1 | Très peu 2 | Un peu 3 | Moyennement 4 | Assez 5 | Beaucoup 6 | Énormément 7 |
|------------------|---------------|-------------|------------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|
|------------------|---------------|-------------|------------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|



| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est attirante</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est fiable</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est intelligente</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est menaçante</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| <i>J'aime la façon dont cette personne est habillée</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |



| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est attirante</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est fiable</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est intelligente</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est menaçante</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| <i>J'aime la façon dont cette personne est habillée</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |



| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est attirante</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est fiable</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est intelligente</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est menaçante</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| <i>J'aime la façon dont cette personne est habillée</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |



| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est attirante</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est fiable</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est intelligente</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est menaçante</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| <i>J'aime la façon dont cette personne est habillée</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |



| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est attirante</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est fiable</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est intelligente</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| <i>Je pense que cette femme est menaçante</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| <i>J'aime la façon dont cette personne est habillée</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

- 5) *Nous aimerions connaître vos attitudes concernant plusieurs groupes ethnoculturels au Québec. Nous mesurons vos attitudes à l'aide d'une échelle qui va de zéro à cent, un peu comme un thermomètre. Si vous avez des attitudes favorables envers un groupe donné, choisissez un chiffre entre 50 et 100, l'attitude la plus favorable étant 100 sur l'échelle. Par contre si vous avez des sentiments plutôt défavorables envers un groupe donné, choisissez un degré entre 0 et 50, l'attitude la plus défavorable sur l'échelle étant le chiffre zéro. Le chiffre 50 dénote une attitude ni favorable ni défavorable envers le groupe en question.*

100° extrêmement favorable
90°
80°
70°
60°
50° ni favorable, ni défavorable
40°
30°
20°
10°
0° extrêmement défavorable

- | | | |
|----|------------------------------|-------|
| a- | Québécois francophones | _____ |
| b- | Immigrants Haitiens | _____ |
| c- | Immigrants Chinois | _____ |
| d- | Québécois anglophones | _____ |
| e- | Immigrants Français | _____ |
| f- | Immigrants Anglo-Antillais | _____ |
| g- | Immigrants Indo-Pakistanaï | _____ |
| h- | Immigrants Arabes musulmans | _____ |
| i- | Immigrants Vietnamiens | _____ |
| j- | Immigrants Latino-Américains | _____ |
| k- | Immigrants Catholiques | _____ |
| l- | Immigrants Musulmans | _____ |
| m- | Immigrants Protestants | _____ |
| n- | Immigrants Juifs | _____ |
| o- | Immigrants Hindous | _____ |

APPENDICE C

CONSIGNES DE L'ARTICLE 1 - ÉTUDE 2

UNIVERSITÉ DU QUÉBEC À MONTRÉAL

INSTRUCTIONS

Premièrement, nous aimerions vous remercier pour votre participation à cette étude. Nous apprécions grandement le temps et l'effort que vous nous accordez aujourd'hui.

Cette enquête porte sur les relations sociales entre différents groupes établis au Québec aujourd'hui.

Comme vous voyez, cette chemise contient deux questionnaires. Votre première tâche consiste à choisir UN des deux questionnaires en fonction des critères suivants :

- 1) Si vous considérez faire partie de la majorité d'accueil QUÉBÉCOISE FRANCOPHONE, choisissez le **questionnaire #1**. En général, les QUÉBÉCOIS FRANCOPHONES ont le français comme langue maternelle, ont des origines québécoises francophones, sont né(e)s au Québec et un ou deux de leur(s) parent(s) est/sont aussi né(s) au Québec.
- 2) Si vous considérez être un immigrant au Québec ou une personne issue de l'immigration, choisissez le **questionnaire #2**. En général, les IMMIGRANTS ou PERSONNE ISSUE DE L'IMMIGRATION sont ceux (celles) qui sont né(e)s ailleurs qu'au Canada et ont immigré au Canada ou au Québec, OU se considèrent d'origine immigrante parce que leurs parents étaient immigrants.

Nous sommes conscients que ces catégories peuvent ne pas correspondre exactement à votre situation personnelle, mais nous vous demandons de choisir le **questionnaire qui se rapproche le plus** de vos circonstances personnelles.

Nous vous rappelons que vous pouvez à tout moment vous retirer de l'étude sans préjudice.

MERCI POUR VOTRE PRÉCIEUSE COLLABORATION!

APPENDICE D

PREMIÈRE PAGE DU QUESTIONNAIRE DE L'ARTICLE 1 - ÉTUDE 2 AVEC NOM
QUÉBÉCOIS FRANCOPHONE

ÉTUDE SUR LES PERCEPTIONS
SOCIALES AU QUÉBEC
2007

QUESTIONNAIRE #1

Ce questionnaire est anonyme!

Assistante: Anne-Marie Vaillancourt
Superviseur : Richard Y. Bourhis

a/s Dr. Richard Y. Bourhis
Département de Psychologie
Université du Québec à Montréal
C.P. 8888, Succursale Centre-Ville
Montréal (Québec) H3C 3P8
(514) 987-3000, poste 4852

HCAS

APPENDICE E

PREMIÈRE PAGE DU QUESTIONNAIRE DE L'ARTICLE 1 - ÉTUDE 2 AVEC NOM
ARABE MUSLUMAN

ÉTUDE SUR LES PERCEPTIONS
SOCIALES AU QUÉBEC
2007

QUESTIONNAIRE #1

Ce questionnaire est anonyme!

Assistante: Khadijah Mohamed Alhamadani
Superviseur : Richard Y. Bourhis

a/s Dr. Richard Y. Bourhis
Département de Psychologie
Université du Québec à Montréal
C.P. 8888, Succursale Centre-Ville
Montréal (Québec) H3C 3P8
(514) 987-3000, poste 4852

HCAS

APPENDICE F

QUESTIONNAIRE DE L'ARTICLE 1 - ÉTUDE 2

ÉTUDE SUR LES PERCEPTIONS
SOCIALES AU QUÉBEC
2007

QUESTIONNAIRE #1

Ce questionnaire est anonyme!

a/s Dr. Richard Y. Bourhis
Département de Psychologie
Université du Québec à Montréal
C.P. 8888, Succursale Centre-Ville
Montréal (Québec) H3C 3P8
(514) 987-3000, poste 4852

HCAS

Les questions qui suivent concernent vos perceptions de divers groupes sociaux au Québec. Divers énoncés vous seront présentés, chacun exprimant une opinion que vous pouvez partager ou non. Pour chaque énoncé, nous vous demandons d'exprimer votre degré d'accord. Pour ce faire, veuillez **entourer** le chiffre correspondant à **votre opinion** sur les échelles en sept points selon le code suivant:

| Pas du tout en accord 1 | Très peu en accord 2 | Un peu en accord 3 | Moyennement en accord 4 | Assez en accord 5 | Beaucoup en accord 6 | Énormément en accord 7 |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|

Ainsi, si par exemple nous vous présentons l'énoncé suivant:

*Le basketball est l'un des sports les plus
excitants du monde.*

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- Si vous êtes énormément en accord avec l'énoncé parce que vous trouvez le basketball énormément excitant, vous entourerez le chiffre 7.
- Si vous n'êtes pas du tout en accord avec l'énoncé parce que vous trouvez le basketball totalement ennuyeux, vous entourerez le chiffre 1.
- Si vous êtes moyennement en accord avec l'énoncé parce que vous ne trouvez le basketball ni excitant ni ennuyeux, vous entourerez le chiffre 4.
- Si vous trouvez le basketball excitant mais pas absolument, vous entourerez le chiffre 5 **ou** 6, selon le degré auquel vous trouvez ce sport excitant (assez ou beaucoup).
- Finalement, si vous trouvez le basketball peu excitant mais pas absolument, vous entourerez le chiffre 2 **ou** 3, selon le degré auquel vous trouvez ce sport peu excitant (très peu ou un peu).

Nous nous intéressons à vos opinions spontanées et sincères. Il n'y a pas de bonnes ou de mauvaises réponses. Sachez aussi que nous garantissons l'anonymat complet de vos réponses. Les résultats seront analysés statistiquement par groupe et non sur une base individuelle.

Note: Tout au long du questionnaire, le masculin est employé pour représenter les deux sexes et ce, dans le seul et unique but d'alléger le texte.

1)

| | | |
|---|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| a- Âge: | | |
| b- Sexe: | Masculin: <input type="checkbox"/> | Féminin: <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c- Quel est votre lieu de naissance (ville ou village, pays)? | | |
| d- Depuis combien de temps vivez-vous au Québec? (inscrire "Naissance" si vous y habitez depuis votre naissance) | | |
| e- Dans quelle ville ou village habitez-vous en ce moment? (ex. : Montréal, quartier Rosemont) | | |
| f- Depuis combien de temps résidez-vous dans cette ville ou ce village? | | |
| g- Dans quels autres quartiers, villes ou pays avez-vous habité auparavant et durant combien de temps? | | |
| h- Quelle est votre langue maternelle? | | |
| i- Autre(s) langue(s) parlée(s)? | | |
| j- Décrivez votre occupation (ex : étudiant, etc.) | | |
| k- Votre domaine d'études ou discipline à l'université? | | |
| l- Quelle est votre religion? | | |
| m- Quel est le pays d'origine de votre père/tuteur ? | | |
| n- Depuis combien de temps vit-il au Québec? | | |
| o- Quelle est la langue maternelle de votre père/tuteur? | | |
| p- Autre(s) langue(s) parlée(s)? | | |
| q- Décrivez le type de travail de votre père/tuteur. | | |
| r- Quelle est la religion de votre père/tuteur? | | |
| s- Quel est le pays d'origine de votre mère/tutrice ? | | |
| t- Depuis combien de temps vit-elle au Québec? | | |
| u- Quelle est la langue maternelle de votre mère/tutrice? | | |
| v- Autre(s) langue(s) parlée(s)? | | |
| w- Décrivez le type de travail de votre mère/tutrice. | | |
| x- Quelle est la religion de votre mère/tutrice? | | |

- 2) Cette série de questions concerne vos opinions à l'égard des *immigrants Français* (en provenance de France) établis au Québec. Répondez en ayant en tête cette communauté spécifique uniquement. Dans cette section, nous employons le terme "culture québécoise" pour référer à la culture francophone québécoise. Répondez en utilisant le code suivant:

| Pas du tout en accord 1 | Très peu en accord 2 | Un peu en accord 3 | Moyennement en accord 4 | Assez en accord 5 | Beaucoup en accord 6 | Énormément en accord 7 |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|

En ce qui concerne la culture...

- a- Les Français peuvent conserver leur culture d'origine tant qu'elle n'influence pas la culture des Québécois. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- b- Les Québécois n'ont rien à retirer de la présence des Français et de leur culture. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- c- Les Français devraient conserver leur culture d'origine tout en adoptant la culture québécoise. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- d- Que les Français conservent leur culture ou adoptent celle des Québécois n'a aucune importance puisque chaque individu est libre de choisir la culture qui lui convient. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- e- Les Français devraient abandonner leur culture d'origine pour adopter la culture québécoise. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- f- Les Québécois devraient transformer certains aspects de leur propre culture pour mieux intégrer les Français. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

En ce qui concerne les valeurs ...

- g- Les Québécois n'ont rien à retirer de la présence des Français et de leurs valeurs. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- h- Les Français devraient abandonner leurs valeurs d'origine pour adopter les valeurs Québécois. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- i- Les Français devraient conserver leurs valeurs d'origine tout en adoptant les valeurs Québécois. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- j- Les Québécois devraient transformer certains aspects de leurs propres valeurs pour mieux intégrer celles des Français. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- k- Que les Français conservent leur valeurs d'origine ou adoptent celle des Québécois n'a aucune importance puisque chaque individu est libre de choisir les valeurs qui lui conviennent. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- l- Les Français peuvent conserver leurs valeurs d'origine en autant qu'elles n'influencent pas les valeurs des Québécois. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

| Pas du tout en accord 1 | Très peu en accord 2 | Un peu en accord 3 | Moyennement en accord 4 | Assez en accord 5 | Beaucoup en accord 6 | Énormément en accord 7 |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|

En ce qui concerne les coutumes...

| | | | | | | | | |
|----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| m- | Les Français devraient abandonner leurs coutumes d'origine pour adopter les coutumes Québécoises. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| n- | Que les Français conservent leurs coutumes d'origine ou adoptent celles des Québécois n'a aucune importance puisque chaque individu est libre de choisir les coutumes qui lui conviennent. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| o- | Les Québécois n'ont rien à retirer de la présence des Français et de leurs coutumes. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| p- | Les Québécois devraient transformer certains aspects de leurs propres coutumes pour mieux intégrer les Français. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| q- | Les Français peuvent conserver leurs coutumes d'origine tant qu'elles n'influencent pas les coutumes des Québécois. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| r- | Les Français devraient conserver leurs coutumes d'origine tout en adoptant les coutumes Québécoises | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

En ce qui concerne le mariage entre les Français et les Québécois...

| | | | | | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| s- | Je préférerais épouser un Québécois plutôt qu'un Français car il est préférable de ne pas mélanger les cultures. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| t- | J'épouserais aussi bien un Français qu'un Québécois puisque le mariage entre deux individus ne devrait pas être influencé par l'origine culturelle des conjoints. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| u- | J'accepterais d'épouser un Français à condition qu'il abandonne sa culture d'origine pour adopter la culture Québécoise. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| v- | J'accepterais d'épouser aussi bien un Français qu'un Québécois tant que la culture des deux conjoints est respectée. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| w- | Je refuserais d'épouser un Français afin de préserver la vitalité de la culture Québécoise. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| x- | J'accepterais d'épouser un Français en sachant que nous devons tous les deux transformer notre culture pour adopter certains aspects de la culture de l'autre. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

- 3) Cette série de questions concerne vos opinions à l'égard des immigrants Arabes de religion musulmane (en provenance d'Algérie, de Tunisie et du Maroc, par exemple) établis au Québec. Répondez en ayant en tête cette communauté spécifique uniquement. Dans cette section, nous employons le terme "culture québécoise" pour référer à la culture francophone québécoise. Répondez en utilisant le code suivant:

| Pas du tout en accord 1 | Très peu en accord 2 | Un peu en accord 3 | Moyennement en accord 4 | Assez en accord 5 | Beaucoup en accord 6 | Énormément en accord 7 |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|

En ce qui concerne la culture...

- | | | |
|----|--|---------------|
| a- | Les Arabes musulmans peuvent conserver leur culture d'origine en tant qu'elle n'influence pas la culture des Québécois. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| b- | Les Québécois n'ont rien à retirer de la présence des Arabes musulmans et de leur culture. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| c- | Les Arabes musulmans devraient conserver leur culture d'origine tout en adoptant la culture Québécoise. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| d- | Que les Arabes musulmans conservent leur culture ou adoptent celle des Québécois n'a aucune importance puisque chaque individu est libre de choisir la culture qui lui convient. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| e- | Les Arabes musulmans devraient abandonner leur culture d'origine pour adopter la culture Québécoise. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| f- | Les Québécois devraient transformer certains aspects de leur propre culture pour mieux intégrer les Arabes musulmans. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |

En ce qui concerne les valeurs...

- | | | |
|----|--|---------------|
| g- | Les Arabes musulmans devraient abandonner leurs valeurs d'origine pour adopter les valeurs Québécoises. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| h- | Les Arabes musulmans peuvent conserver leurs valeurs d'origine en tant qu'elles n'influencent pas les valeurs des Québécois. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| i- | Les Québécois n'ont rien à retirer de la présence des Arabes musulmans et de leurs valeurs. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| j- | Que les Arabes musulmans conservent leurs valeurs d'origine ou adoptent celles des Québécois n'a aucune importance puisque chaque individu est libre de choisir les valeurs qui lui conviennent. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| k- | Les Québécois devraient transformer certains aspects de leurs propres valeurs pour mieux intégrer les Arabes musulmans. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| l- | Les Arabes musulmans devraient conserver leurs valeurs d'origine tout en adoptant les valeurs Québécoises. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |

| Pas du tout en accord 1 | Très peu en accord 2 | Un peu en accord 3 | Moyennement en accord 4 | Assez en accord 5 | Beaucoup en accord 6 | Énormément en accord 7 |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|

En ce qui concerne les coutumes...

| | | | | | | | | |
|----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| m- | Les Arabes musulmans peuvent conserver leurs coutumes d'origine en tant qu'elles n'influencent pas les coutumes des Québécois. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| n- | Les Arabes musulmans devraient conserver leurs coutumes d'origine tout en adoptant les coutumes Québécoises. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| o- | Que les Arabes musulmans conservent leurs coutumes d'origine ou adoptent celles des Québécois n'a aucune importance puisque chaque individu est libre de choisir les coutumes qui lui conviennent. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| p- | Les Arabes musulmans devraient abandonner leurs coutumes d'origine pour adopter les coutumes Québécoises. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| q- | Les Québécois devraient transformer certains aspects de leurs propres coutumes pour mieux intégrer les Arabes musulmans. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| r- | Les Québécois n'ont rien à retirer de la présence des Arabes musulmans et de leurs coutumes. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

En ce qui concerne le mariage entre les Arabes musulmans et les Québécois...

| | | | | | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| s- | Je refuserais d'épouser un Arabe musulman afin de préserver la vitalité de la culture Québécoise. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| t- | J'épouserais aussi bien un Arabe musulman qu'un Québécois puisque le mariage entre deux individus ne devrait pas être influencé par l'origine culturelle des conjoints. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| u- | J'accepterais d'épouser un Arabe musulman à condition qu'il abandonne sa culture d'origine pour adopter la culture Québécoise. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| v- | Je préférerais épouser un Québécois plutôt qu'un Arabe musulman car il est préférable de ne pas mélanger les cultures. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| w- | J'accepterais d'épouser un Arabe musulman en sachant que nous devons tous les deux transformer notre culture pour adopter certains aspects de la culture de l'autre. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| x- | J'accepterais d'épouser aussi bien un Arabe musulman qu'un Québécois en autant que la culture des deux conjoints soit respectée. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

- 4) Selon vous, jusqu'à quel point les conditions suivantes sont-elles nécessaires pour considérer une personne comme étant tout à fait québécoise? Répondez à *chacune* des options suivantes en encerclant le chiffre qui correspond le mieux à votre opinion.

| | Pas du tout 1 | Très peu 2 | Un peu 3 | Moyennement 4 | Assez 5 | Beaucoup 6 | Énormément 7 |
|---|------------------|---------------|-------------|------------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|
| a- Vivre et travailler au Québec. | | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| b- Avoir des ancêtres Québécois. | | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| c- Connaître et parler la langue française. | | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| d- Connaître et parler la langue anglaise. | | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| e- Être né et avoir été élevé au Québec. | | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| f- Adhérer aux valeurs démocratiques du Québec. | | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| g- Respecter et obéir aux lois québécoises. | | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| h- Être un électeur assidu aux élections provinciales et municipales. | | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| i- Être un partisan de la souveraineté du Québec. | | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| j- Connaître et défendre la culture québécoise. | | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| k- Être né et avoir été socialisé dans la religion Catholique. | | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| l- Connaître la culture anglophone du Québec. | | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| m- Soutenir la diversité culturelle et ethnique du Québec. | | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| n- Appuyer un régime de santé publique fort pour tous les Québécois. | | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| o- Être un partisan de l'unité canadienne. | | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| p- Connaître et défendre la culture canadienne. | | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| q- Avoir le français québécois comme langue maternelle. | | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| r- Parler le français avec un accent québécois. | | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |

- 5) Dans cette partie, nous vous demandons d'indiquer votre degré d'identification aux différents groupes ou allégeances présentés ci-dessous. Utilisez le code suivant pour répondre:

| Pas du tout 1 | Très peu 2 | Un peu 3 | Moyennement 4 | Assez 5 | Beaucoup 6 | Énormément 7 |
|------------------|---------------|-------------|------------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|
|------------------|---------------|-------------|------------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|

- a- Jusqu'à quel point vous identifiez-vous comme Canadien? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- b- Jusqu'à quel point vous identifiez-vous comme Québécois? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- c- Jusqu'à quel point vous identifiez-vous comme francophone? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- d- Jusqu'à quel point vous identifiez-vous comme anglophone? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- e- Jusqu'à quel point vous identifiez-vous comme immigrant? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- f- Jusqu'à quel point vous identifiez-vous comme montréalais? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- g- Jusqu'à quel point vous identifiez-vous comme souverainiste? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- h- Jusqu'à quel point vous identifiez-vous comme fédéraliste? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- i- Jusqu'à quel point vous identifiez-vous comme bilingue? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- j- Jusqu'à quel point vous identifiez-vous comme catholique? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- k- Jusqu'à quel point vous identifiez-vous comme musulman? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- l- Jusqu'à quel point vous identifiez-vous comme protestant? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- m- Jusqu'à quel point vous identifiez-vous comme juif? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- n- Jusqu'à quel point vous identifiez-vous comme allophone? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- o- Jusqu'à quel point vous identifiez-vous comme une personne d'une autre origine (spécifiez: _____)? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- 6) Dans cette partie, nous vous demandons de penser à vous-même en tant que **Québécois francophone**. Répondez aux questions suivantes en utilisant le code qui suit:

| Pas du tout 1 | Très peu 2 | Un peu 3 | Moyennement 4 | Assez 5 | Beaucoup 6 | Énormément 7 |
|------------------|---------------|-------------|------------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|
|------------------|---------------|-------------|------------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|

- a- Jusqu'à quel point vous sentez-vous **heureux** d'être Québécois? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- b- Jusqu'à quel point vous sentez-vous **satisfait** d'être Québécois? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- c- Jusqu'à quel point vous sentez-vous **à l'aise** d'être Québécois? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- d- Jusqu'à quel point vous sentez-vous **fier** d'être Québécois? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- e- Jusqu'à quel point **aimez-vous** être Québécois? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

7) *Maintenant, nous vous demandons de penser à vos relations avec les autres. Répondez en utilisant l'échelle suivante:*

| Pas du tout 1 | Très peu 2 | Un peu 3 | Moyennement 4 | Assez 5 | Beaucoup 6 | Énormément 7 |
|------------------|---------------|-------------|------------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|
|------------------|---------------|-------------|------------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|

A) Lorsque je suis en situation de contact avec des immigrants **Français**, je me sens:

| | | |
|----|----------|---------------|
| a- | Confiant | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| b- | Anxieux | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| c- | à l'aise | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| d- | Menacé | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| e- | Attiré | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| f- | Méfiant | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |

B) Lorsque je suis en situation de contact avec des immigrants **Arabes musulmans**, je me sens:

| | | |
|----|----------|---------------|
| a- | Confiant | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| b- | Anxieux | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| c- | à l'aise | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| d- | Menacé | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| e- | Attiré | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| f- | Méfiant | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |

C) Lorsque je suis en situation de contact avec des **Québécois francophones**, je me sens:

| | | |
|----|----------|---------------|
| a- | Confiant | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| b- | Anxieux | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| c- | à l'aise | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| d- | menacé | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| e- | attiré | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| f- | méfiant | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |

- 8 a) Pensez à la ville ou au quartier où vous habitez en ce moment. SVP estimez (devinez) le nombre d'individus qui sont membres des groupes suivants dans votre ville ou quartier.

| Aucun 1 | 2 | 3 | La moitié 4 | 5 | 6 | Presque tous 7 |
|---------------------------|---|---------------|------------------|---|---|-------------------|
| Québécois Francophones | | Français | Arabes Musulmans | | | |
| 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | | | |

- 8 b) Pensez à l'université que vous fréquentez en ce moment. SVP estimez (devinez) le nombre d'individus qui sont membres des groupes suivants dans votre université.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|--|---------------|------------------|--|--|--|
| Québécois Francophones | | Français | Arabes Musulmans | | | |
| 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | | | |

- 9.1) Croyez-vous que la taille de la population du Québec est trop faible, trop élevée ou est-elle à peu près correcte? Répondez en encerclant le chiffre qui correspond le mieux à votre opinion.

| Trop faible | | | Adéquate | | | Trop élevée |
|-------------|---|---|----------|---|---|-------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

- 9.2) Pour le futur, aimeriez-vous un Québec dont la population serait plus faible, à peu près de la même taille ou plus élevée qu'aujourd'hui?

| Plus faible | | | Même taille | | | Plus élevée |
|-------------|---|---|-------------|---|---|-------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

- 9.3) Pour le futur, aimeriez-vous que le taux d'immigration au Québec:

| Diminue de beaucoup | | | Reste le même | | | Augmente de beaucoup |
|------------------------|---|---|------------------|---|---|-------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

- 9.4) Tout compte fait, il y a trop d'immigration au Québec.

| Pas du tout en accord | Très peu en accord | Un peu en accord | Moyennement en accord | Assez en accord | Beaucoup en accord | Énormément en accord |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

9.5) Pour le futur du Québec, j'aimerais que l'immigration provienne des endroits suivants :

| | Pas du tout 1 | Très peu 2 | Un peu 3 | Moyennement 4 | Assez 5 | Beaucoup 6 | Énormément 7 |
|---|------------------|---------------|-------------|------------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|
| a- De la France | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | |
| b- De l'Amérique latine | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | |
| c- Des pays du Maghreb (Maroc, Algérie, Tunisie, etc..) ou du Moyen Orient (Liban, Kuwait, Palestine, etc...) | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | |
| d- De l'Asie (Chine, Vietnam, Cambodge, etc.) | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | |
| e- Des États-Unis | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | |
| f- Des Antilles | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | |
| g- De l'Haïti | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | |
| h- De l'Inde | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | |
| i- Autre pays. Spécifiez _____ | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | |

10) Maintenant, pensez de nouveau à votre identité en tant que Québécois:

| | Pas du tout 1 | Très peu 2 | Un peu 3 | Moyennement 4 | Assez 5 | Beaucoup 6 | Énormément 7 |
|---|------------------|---------------|---------------|------------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|
| a- Jusqu'à quel point vous sentez-vous en sécurité <i>économique</i> en tant que Québécois? | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | |
| b- Jusqu'à quel point vous sentez-vous en sécurité <i>politique</i> en tant que Québécois? | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | |
| c- Jusqu'à quel point vous sentez-vous en sécurité <i>linguistique</i> en tant que Québécois? | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | |
| d- Jusqu'à quel point vous sentez-vous en sécurité <i>culturelle</i> en tant que Québécois? | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | |
| e- Jusqu'à quel point sentez-vous que votre identité culturelle en tant que Québécois est menacée par la présence des groupes suivants établis au Québec? | | | | | | | |
| Québécois Francophones | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | | | | | | |
| Français | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | | | | | |
| Arabes Musulmans | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | | | | |
| Immigrants en général | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | | | |

11.1) Jusqu'à quel point aimeriez-vous avoir un Québécois francophone comme...

| Pas du tout 1 | Très peu 2 | Un peu 3 | Moyennement 4 | Assez 5 | Beaucoup 6 | Énormément 7 |
|------------------|--|-------------|------------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|
| a- | votre vendeur au magasin d'alimentation? | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | |
| b- | votre collègue à l'université? | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | |
| c- | votre collègue de travail? | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | |
| d- | votre voisin? | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | |
| e- | votre meilleur ami? | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | |
| f- | votre conjoint? | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | |

11.2) À quel point aimeriez-vous avoir un immigrant Français comme...

| Pas du tout 1 | Très peu 2 | Un peu 3 | Moyennement 4 | Assez 5 | Beaucoup 6 | Énormément 7 |
|------------------|--|-------------|------------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|
| a- | votre vendeur au magasin d'alimentation? | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | |
| b- | votre collègue à l'université? | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | |
| c- | votre collègue de travail? | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | |
| d- | votre voisin? | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | |
| e- | votre meilleur ami? | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | |
| f- | votre conjoint? | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | |

11.3) À quel point aimeriez-vous avoir un immigrant Arabe musulman comme...

| Pas du tout 1 | Très peu 2 | Un peu 3 | Moyennement 4 | Assez 5 | Beaucoup 6 | Énormément 7 |
|------------------|--|-------------|------------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|
| a- | votre vendeur au magasin d'alimentation? | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | |
| b- | votre collègue à l'université? | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | |
| c- | votre collègue de travail? | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | |
| d- | votre voisin? | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | |
| e- | votre meilleur ami? | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | |
| f- | votre conjoint? | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | |

12) Voici des énoncés qui décrivent un but, souhait ou désir. Les buts, souhaits ou désirs sont des choses personnelles; chacun a des buts, souhaits ou désirs différents. Répondez en réfléchissant à ce que vous voulez faire personnellement ou au degré auquel vous voudriez pouvoir faire les choses décrites dans ces énoncés. Répondez en utilisant le code suivant :

| Pas du tout en accord | Très peu en accord | Un peu en accord | Moyennement en accord | Assez en accord | Beaucoup en accord | Énormément en accord |
|-----------------------|--------------------|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

a. Je veux agir pour augmenter la taille des groupes suivants dans ma région.

Arabes musulmans établis ici

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Québécois francophone

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Français établis ici

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

b. Je souhaite faire en sorte qu'un plus grand nombre de personnes des groupes suivants puissent travailler dans le service public de ma région (municipalité, santé, services sociaux, poste).

Arabes musulmans établis ici

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Québécois francophone

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Français établis ici

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

c. Je veux encourager la création d'entreprises et de commerces, parmi les groupes suivants, dans ma région.

Arabes musulmans établis ici

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Québécois francophone

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Français établis ici

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

d. Je veux agir afin d'augmenter le prestige et l'importance des groupes suivants dans ma région.

Arabes musulmans établis ici

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Québécois francophone

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Français établis ici

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

e. Je veux encourager l'augmentation du taux de naissance des personnes suivantes dans ma région.

Arabes musulmans établis ici

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Québécois francophone

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Français établis ici

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

f. Je veux aider à améliorer la force et l'efficacité des organisations et associations des groupes suivants dans ma région.

Arabes musulmans établis ici

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Québécois francophone

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Français établis ici

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

g. Je veux agir afin d'augmenter le prestige des langues suivantes dans ma région (à l'école, à l'université, radio / TV dans les entreprises, dans le service public).

L'arabe

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Le français

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

L'anglais

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- 13) Maintenant nous aimerions que vous pensiez aux personnes que vous **fréquentez** dans la vie de tous les jours. Par exemple, sur une semaine vous pouvez fréquenter une personne souvent, quelques fois ou encore rarement. Répondez en fonction des individus de différentes origines en utilisant le code suivant: (si l'énoncé ne s'applique pas à votre situation, si par exemple vous n'avez pas d'amis Français, entourez le «x»).

| x | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-------------------|----------|---|---|---------------|---|---|---------|
| Ne s'applique pas | Rarement | | | Quelques fois | | | Souvent |

- a- Jusqu'à quel point êtes-vous en contact avec vos amis...

| | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Québécois francophone | Français établis ici | Arabes musulmans établis ici |
| X 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | X 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | X 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |

- b- Jusqu'à quel point êtes-vous en contact avec vos voisins...

| | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Québécois francophone | Français établis ici | Arabes musulmans établis ici |
| X 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | X 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | X 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |

- c- Jusqu'à quel point êtes-vous en contact avec des collègues de travail...

| | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Québécois francophone | Français établis ici | Arabes musulmans établis ici |
| X 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | X 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | X 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |

- d- À votre cégep, jusqu'à quel point étiez-vous en contact avec des élèves...

| | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Québécois francophone | Français établis ici | Arabes musulmans établis ici |
| X 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | X 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | X 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |

- e- À votre université, jusqu'à quel point êtes-vous en contact avec des étudiants...

| | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Québécois francophone | Français établis ici | Arabes musulmans établis ici |
| X 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | X 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | X 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |

14) *Nous aimerions maintenant que vous pensiez aux relations entre les Québécois francophones et les divers groupes constituant la société québécoise. Répondez aux questions en utilisant le code suivant:*

| Pas du tout 1 | Très peu 2 | Un peu 3 | Moyennement 4 | Assez 5 | Beaucoup 6 | Énormément 7 |
|------------------|---------------|-------------|------------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|
|------------------|---------------|-------------|------------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|

a- Dans votre quartier, ville ou village, jusqu'à quel point trouvez-vous que les groupes suivants sont intéressés à avoir des contacts avec les Québécois francophones?

Français
établis ici?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Arabes musulmans
établis ici?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

b- Dans votre quartier, ville ou village, jusqu'à quel point trouvez-vous que les groupes suivants ont de bonnes relations avec les Québécois francophones?

Français
établis ici?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Arabes musulmans
établis ici?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

c- À votre université, jusqu'à quel point trouvez-vous que les groupes suivants sont intéressés à avoir des contacts avec les Québécois francophones?

Français
établis ici?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Arabes musulmans
établis ici?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

d- À votre université, jusqu'à quel point trouvez-vous que les groupes suivants ont de bonnes relations avec les Québécois francophones?

Français
établis ici?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Arabes musulmans
établis ici?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

15) Nous aimerions connaître vos attitudes concernant plusieurs groupes ethnoculturels au Québec. Nous mesurons vos attitudes à l'aide d'une échelle qui va de zéro à cent, un peu comme un thermomètre. Si vous avez des attitudes favorables envers un groupe donné, choisissez un chiffre entre 50 et 100, l'attitude la plus favorable étant 100 sur l'échelle. Par contre si vous avez des sentiments plutôt défavorables envers un groupe donné, choisissez un degré entre 0 et 50, l'attitude la plus défavorable sur l'échelle étant le chiffre zéro. Le chiffre 50 dénote une attitude ni favorable ni défavorable envers le groupe en question.

100° extrêmement favorable
 90°
 80°
 70°
 60°
 50° ni favorable, ni défavorable
 40°
 30°
 20°
 10°
 0° extrêmement défavorable

- | | | |
|----|------------------------------|-------|
| a- | Québécois francophones | _____ |
| b- | Immigrants Haitiens | _____ |
| c- | Immigrants Chinois | _____ |
| d- | Québécois anglophones | _____ |
| e- | Immigrants Français | _____ |
| f- | Immigrants Anglo-Antillais | _____ |
| g- | Immigrants Arabes musulmans | _____ |
| h- | Immigrants Vietnamiens | _____ |
| i- | Immigrants Latino-Américains | _____ |
| j- | Immigrants Catholiques | _____ |
| k- | Immigrants Musulmans | _____ |
| l- | Immigrants Protestants | _____ |
| m- | Immigrants Juifs | _____ |

16) Répondez aux prochaines questions en fonction du code suivant:

| Pas du tout 1 | Très peu 2 | Un peu 3 | Moyennement 4 | Assez 5 | Beaucoup 6 | Énormément 7 |
|------------------|---------------|-------------|------------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|
|------------------|---------------|-------------|------------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|

a- Jusqu'à quel point croyez-vous que le système québécois est juste à l'égard des groupes suivants?

| | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Québécois francophone | Français établis ici | Arabes musulmans établis ici |
| 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |

b- Selon vous, jusqu'à quel point les membres des groupes suivants sont victimes de discrimination dans les écoles?

| | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Québécois francophone | Français établis ici | Arabes musulmans établis ici |
| 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |

c- Selon vous, jusqu'à quel point les membres des groupes suivants sont victimes de discrimination dans leur milieu de travail?

| | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Québécois francophone | Français établis ici | Arabes musulmans établis ici |
| 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |

d- Selon vous, jusqu'à quel point les membres des groupes suivants sont victimes de discrimination lorsqu'ils cherchent un appartement?

| | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Québécois francophone | Français établis ici | Arabes musulmans établis ici |
| 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |

e- Selon vous, jusqu'à quel point les membres des groupes suivants sont victimes de discrimination à votre université?

| | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Québécois francophone | Français établis ici | Arabes musulmans établis ici |
| 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |

f- Selon vous, jusqu'à quel point les membres des groupes suivant sont victimes de discrimination dans leurs rapports avec la police et les forces de l'ordre?

| | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Québécois francophone | Français établis ici | Arabes musulmans établis ici |
| 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |

17) Répondez aux prochaines questions en fonction du code suivant:

| | Pas du tout 1 | Très peu 2 | Un peu 3 | Moyennement 4 | Assez 5 | Beaucoup 6 | Énormément 7 |
|----|--|---------------|-------------|------------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|
| a- | À quel point avez-vous personnellement été victime de discrimination dans votre milieu de travail (ou en demande d'emploi ou d'avancement) ? | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| b- | À quel point avez-vous personnellement été victime de discrimination dans un magasin, banque ou restaurant? | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| c- | À quel point avez-vous personnellement été victime de discrimination dans votre université? | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| d- | À quel point avez-vous personnellement été victime de discrimination dans la rue? | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| e- | À quel point avez-vous personnellement été victime de discrimination de la part de la police ou des forces de l'ordre? | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |

18) Pour quelle(s) raison(s) pensez-vous avoir été victime de discrimination ou traité(s) injustement? Était-ce en raison de :

| | Pas du tout 1 | Très peu 2 | Un peu 3 | Moyennement 4 | Assez 5 | Beaucoup 6 | Énormément 7 |
|----|--|---------------|-------------|------------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|
| a- | Votre appartenance culturelle ou ethnique? | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| b- | Votre « race » ou la couleur de votre peau? | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| c- | Votre langue ou votre accent? | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| d- | Votre taille ou caractéristique physique / esthétique? | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| e- | Votre appartenance religieuse? | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| f- | Votre nom de famille? | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |

19) Pensez maintenant à la façon dont vous avez été élevé au Québec, indiquez jusqu'à quel point les énoncés suivants reflètent votre expérience. Répondez en utilisant les codes suivants :

a. L'image que mes parents véhiculaient à la maison des groupes suivants était surtout :

| Négative 1 | 2 | 3 | Ni positive ni négative 4 | 5 | 6 | Positive 7 |
|---------------|---|---|---------------------------------|---|---|---------------|
|---------------|---|---|---------------------------------|---|---|---------------|

Arabes musulmans
établis ici

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Québécois
francophones

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Français
établis ici

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

b. Mes parents m'encourageaient à participer aux activités culturelles des groupes suivants :

| Pas du tout 1 | Très peu 2 | Un peu 3 | Moyennement 4 | Assez 5 | Beaucoup 6 | Énormément 7 |
|------------------|---------------|-------------|------------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|
|------------------|---------------|-------------|------------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|

Arabes musulmans
établis ici

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Québécois
francophones

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Français
établis ici

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

c. Mes parents m'incitaient à avoir des amis parmi les groupes suivants :

Arabes musulmans
établis ici

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Québécois
francophones

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Français
établis ici

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

d. Mes parents souhaitent que j'épouse une personne des groupes suivants :

Arabes musulmans
établis ici

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Québécois
francophones

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Français
établis ici

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- 20) *Jusqu'à quel point êtes-vous en accord ou en désaccord avec les énoncés suivants. Répondez en utilisant l'échelle suivante:*

| Pas du tout en accord 1 | Très peu en accord 2 | Un peu en accord 3 | Moyennement en accord 4 | Assez en accord 5 | Beaucoup en accord 6 | Énormément en accord 7 |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|

- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a- | Dû au climat de rectitude politique actuel, j'essaie d'être perçu comme une personne qui n'a pas de préjugés envers les Arabes musulmans. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| b- | J'essaie de ne pas exprimer mes préjugés envers les Arabes musulmans à cause de la pression des autres. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| c- | Je suis motivé à ne pas avoir de préjugés envers les Arabes musulmans en raison de mes convictions personnelles. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| d- | J'essaie de cacher mes pensées négatives envers les Arabes musulmans afin d'éviter les réactions négatives des autres. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| e- | Selon mes valeurs personnelles, c'est correct d'utiliser des stéréotypes par rapport aux Arabes musulmans | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| f- | Si je réagissais d'une façon préjudiciable envers des Arabes musulmans, j'aurais peur que les autres soient fâchés contre moi | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| g- | J'essaie d'être perçu comme une personne qui n'a pas de préjugés envers les Arabes musulmans afin d'éviter la désapprobation des autres | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| h- | J'essaie d'agir d'une façon non préjudiciable envers les Arabes musulmans parce que cela revêt d'une importance personnelle pour moi. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| i- | Selon mes valeurs personnelles, utiliser des stéréotypes par rapport aux Arabes musulmans est mal | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| j- | Ne pas avoir de préjugés par rapport aux Arabes musulmans est important pour l'image que j'ai de moi-même | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

21) Jusqu'à quel point êtes-vous en accord ou en désaccord avec les énoncés suivants.
Répondez en utilisant l'échelle suivante:

| Pas du tout en accord 1 | Très peu en accord 2 | Un peu en accord 3 | Moyennement en accord 4 | Assez en accord 5 | Beaucoup en accord 6 | Énormément en accord 7 |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|

- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| k- | Nous devrions faire notre possible pour égaliser les conditions de vie des différents groupes. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| l- | Les groupes supérieurs devraient dominer les groupes inférieurs. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| m- | Si certains groupes demeuraient à leur place, nous aurions moins de problèmes. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| n- | Nous devons accroître l'égalité sociale. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| o- | Il est souhaitable que certains groupes soient en haut de l'échelle sociale et que d'autres soient au bas de l'échelle sociale. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| p- | Si tous les groupes étaient traités de façon égale, nous aurions moins de problèmes. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| q- | Nous devons viser l'égalité des salaires. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| r- | Les groupes inférieurs devraient rester à leur place. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| s- | Il est parfois nécessaire d'utiliser la force contre d'autres groupes pour obtenir ce dont votre groupe a besoin. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| t- | Il serait souhaitable que tous les groupes soient égaux. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| u- | Certains groupes doivent parfois être confinés à leur place. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| v- | Certains groupes d'individus méritent plus d'estime que d'autres. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| w- | Tous les groupes devraient bénéficier des mêmes chances. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| x- | Il est parfois nécessaire de dominer les autres groupes pour arriver à ses fins. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| y- | Aucun groupe ne devrait être dominant dans la société. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| z- | L'égalité des groupes devrait être notre idéal. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

- 22) *Ci-dessous se trouvent des énoncés avec lesquels vous pouvez être en accord ou en désaccord. Pour chaque énoncé, svp indiquez à quel point vous êtes en accord ou en désaccord en encerclant le chiffre approprié de « 1 » à « 7 ».*

| | Pas du tout en accord 1 | Très peu en accord 2 | Un peu en accord 3 | Moyennement en accord 4 | Assez en accord 5 | Beaucoup en accord 6 | Énormément en accord 7 |
|----|--|----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| a- | La discrimination contre les femmes dans le marché du travail n'est plus un problème au Québec. | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| b- | J'estime que le marché du travail actuel est injuste envers les femmes. | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| c- | Les femmes ne devraient pas s'imposer là où elles ne sont pas voulues. | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| d- | C'est en étant patientes et en n'exerçant pas trop de pression pour changer les choses que les femmes feront le plus de progrès. | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| e- | Il est difficile de travailler pour une patronne. | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| f- | Les demandes des femmes quant à l'égalité des sexes sont tout simplement exagérées. | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| g- | Au cours des dernières années, les femmes ont obtenu du gouvernement plus que ce qu'elles ne méritaient. | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| h- | Considérant qu'un grand nombre de femmes quitteront leurs emplois après quelques années pour élever leurs enfants, les universités ont tort d'accepter des femmes dans des programmes coûteux comme celui de médecine. | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| i- | Pour ne pas paraître sexiste, plusieurs hommes ont tendance à surcompenser pour les femmes. | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| j- | Étant donné les pressions sociales, les entreprises sont fréquemment obligées d'embaucher des femmes sous qualifiées. | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| k- | Dans un marché du travail juste, les hommes et les femmes seraient considérés égaux. | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |

- 23) *Ci-dessous se trouvent des énoncés avec lesquels vous pouvez être en accord ou en désaccord. Pour chaque énoncé, svp indiquez à quel point vous êtes en accord ou en désaccord en encerclant le chiffre approprié de « 1 » à « 7 ».*

| | Pas du tout en accord 1 | Très peu en accord 2 | Un peu en accord 3 | Moyennement en accord 4 | Assez en accord 5 | Beaucoup en accord 6 | Énormément en accord 7 |
|----|--|----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| a- | Dieu a donné à l'humanité un guide complet et infaillible pour atteindre la joie et le salut. Ce guide devrait être suivi au pied de la lettre. | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| b- | Aucun livre d'enseignement religieux ne contient toutes les vérités intrinsèques et fondamentales sur la vie. | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| c- | La cause principale du mal dans ce monde est Satan, qui est encore constamment et férocelement contre Dieu. | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| d- | Il est plus important d'être une bonne personne que de croire en Dieu et la bonne religion. | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| e- | Il y a un ensemble particulier d'enseignements religieux qui sont vrais dans ce monde : le message principal que Dieu a donné à l'humanité. | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| f- | Il y a en fait deux sortes de personnes dans ce monde: les Vertueux, qui seront récompensés par Dieu, et les autres, qui ne le seront pas. | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| g- | Les textes sacrés peuvent contenir des vérités générales, mais ils ne devraient pas être considérés au pied de la lettre du début à la fin. | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| h- | Pour mener la meilleure vie, il faut adhérer à la seule et unique religion fondamentalement vraie. | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| i- | "Satan" est seulement le nom que les gens donnent à leurs propres mauvaises impulsions. En fait, il n'existe pas de "Prince des ténèbres" diabolique pour nous tenter. | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| j- | Lorsque la science et les textes sacrés sont en conflits, la science a probablement raison. | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| k- | Les fondements de la religion de Dieu ne devraient jamais être altérés ou compromis par les croyances des autres. | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |
| l- | Toutes les religions dans le monde ont des failles et des enseignements erronés. Il n'y a pas de religion tout à fait vraie et juste. | | | | | | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 |

24) *L'assistante devant vous a besoin de volontaires pour l'aider à compléter la deuxième partie de l'étude. Cette seconde partie de l'étude consiste en un entretien d'une durée maximale d'une heure trente en sa compagnie.*

a- Est-ce que vous acceptiez de faire un entretien avec cette assistante? Oui _____; Non _____

b- Si vous acceptiez de faire l'entretien avec cette assistante, est-ce que vous aimeriez un entretien d'une durée de:

15 min. _____; 25 min. _____; 35 min. _____; 45 min. _____; 60 min. _____; 75 min. _____; 90 min. _____

Si vous aviez le temps d'accorder un entretien à cette assistante, jusqu'à quel point aimeriez vous discuter des problématiques suivantes :

| Pas du tout 1 | Très peu 2 | Un peu 3 | Moyennement 4 | Assez 5 | Beaucoup 6 | Énormément 7 |
|------------------|---------------|-------------|------------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|
|------------------|---------------|-------------|------------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|

- c- Dans cet entretien, aimeriez-vous discuter de l'intégration culturelle au Québec. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- d- Dans cet entretien, aimeriez-vous discuter de la précarité de l'emploi au Québec. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- e- Dans cet entretien, aimeriez-vous discuter de l'intégration religieuse au Québec. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- f- Dans cet entretien, aimeriez-vous discuter du féminisme au Québec. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- g- Dans cet entretien, aimeriez-vous discuter des problèmes de sécurité au Québec. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- h- Dans cet entretien, j'aimerais discuter du sujet suivant : _____ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

25) *À quel point est-ce que vous avez senti les émotions suivantes en présence de l'assistante qui a menée l'enquête?*

| Pas du tout 1 | Très peu 2 | Un peu 3 | Moyennement 4 | Assez 5 | Beaucoup 6 | Énormément 7 |
|------------------|---------------|-------------|------------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|
|------------------|---------------|-------------|------------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|

- a- Je me suis senti heureux 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- b- Je me suis senti rebuté 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- c- Je me suis senti effrayé 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- d- Je me suis senti attiré 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- e- Je me suis senti à l'aise 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- f- Je me suis senti menacé 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- g- Je me suis senti intrigué 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- h- J'ai ressenti de la pitié 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

26) *Nous aimerions avoir vos impressions de l'assistante qui a menée l'enquête aujourd'hui.*

| Pas du tout 1 | Très peu 2 | Un peu 3 | Moyennement 4 | Assez 5 | Beaucoup 6 | Énormément 7 |
|------------------|---------------|-------------|------------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|
|------------------|---------------|-------------|------------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|

Je sens que cette personne est:

| | | | | | | | | |
|----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a- | Organisée | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| b- | Intelligente | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| c- | Compétente | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| d- | Menaçante | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| e- | A une voix plaisante | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| f- | Attirante | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| g- | Religieuse | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| h- | Exotique | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| i- | Parle le français d'une façon compréhensible | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| j- | Parle le français avec un accent | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| k- | Fiable | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| l- | Féministe | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| m- | Intégriste | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

27) *Pensez à l'assistante qui a menée l'enquête et répondez aux questions suivantes :*

| | | | | | | | | |
|----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a- | J'aimerais avoir cette personne comme amie. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| b- | J'aimerais avoir cette personne comme enseignante. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| c- | J'aime la façon que cette personne a de s'habiller. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| d- | La façon que cette personne a de s'habiller a influencé mes choix de réponses. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

28) *Donnez vos commentaires concernant cette assistante:*



A

i) Combien de fois avez-vous personnellement vu des femmes habillées de cette façon dans la rue, dans les magasins, à l'université ou dans une clinique médicale?

| | | | | | | |
|--------|---|-------------------|---|---|----------|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Jamais | | Occasionnellement | | | Toujours | |

ii) Combien de femmes habillées de cette façon avez-vous personnellement eu en tant qu'amie ou collègue?

| | | | | | | |
|--------|---|-----------|---|---|--------|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Aucune | | La moitié | | | Toutes | |

iii) À quel point aimeriez-vous qu'une femme habillée de cette façon soit votre «amie proche»?

| | | | | | | |
|-------------|---|-------------|---|---|------------|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Pas du tout | | Moyennement | | | Énormément | |



B

i) Combien de fois avez-vous personnellement vu des femmes habillées de cette façon dans la rue, dans les magasins, à l'université ou dans une clinique médicale?

| | | | | | | |
|--------|---|-------------------|---|---|----------|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Jamais | | Occasionnellement | | | Toujours | |

ii) Combien de femmes habillées de cette façon avez-vous personnellement eu en tant qu'amie ou collègue?

| | | | | | | |
|--------|---|-----------|---|---|--------|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Aucune | | La moitié | | | Toutes | |

iii) À quel point aimeriez-vous qu'une femme habillée de cette façon soit votre «amie proche»?

| | | | | | | |
|-------------|---|-------------|---|---|------------|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Pas du tout | | Moyennement | | | Énormément | |



C

i) Combien de fois avez-vous personnellement vu des femmes habillées de cette façon dans la rue, dans les magasins, à l'université ou dans une clinique médicale?

| | | | | | | |
|--------|---|-------------------|---|---|----------|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Jamais | | Occasionnellement | | | Toujours | |

ii) Combien de femmes habillées de cette façon avez-vous personnellement eu en tant qu'amie ou collègue?

| | | | | | | |
|--------|---|-----------|---|---|--------|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Aucune | | La moitié | | | Toutes | |

iii) À quel point aimeriez-vous qu'une femme habillée de cette façon soit votre «amie proche»?

| | | | | | | |
|-------------|---|-------------|---|---|------------|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Pas du tout | | Moyennement | | | Énormément | |



D

i) Combien de fois avez-vous personnellement vu des femmes habillées de cette façon dans la rue, dans les magasins, à l'université ou dans une clinique médicale?

| | | | | | | |
|--------|---|-------------------|---|---|----------|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Jamais | | Occasionnellement | | | Toujours | |

ii) Combien de femmes habillées de cette façon avez-vous personnellement eu en tant qu'amie ou collègue?

| | | | | | | |
|--------|---|-----------|---|---|--------|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Aucune | | La moitié | | | Toutes | |

iii) À quel point aimeriez-vous qu'une femme habillée de cette façon soit votre «amie proche»?

| | | | | | | |
|-------------|---|-------------|---|---|------------|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Pas du tout | | Moyennement | | | Énormément | |



E

i) Combien de fois avez-vous personnellement vu des femmes habillées de cette façon dans la rue, dans les magasins, à l'université ou dans une clinique médicale?

| | | | | | | |
|--------|---|-------------------|---|---|----------|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Jamais | | Occasionnellement | | | Toujours | |

ii) Combien de femmes habillées de cette façon avez-vous personnellement eu en tant qu'amie ou collègue?

| | | | | | | |
|--------|---|-----------|---|---|--------|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Aucune | | La moitié | | | Toutes | |

iii) À quel point aimeriez-vous qu'une femme habillée de cette façon soit votre «amie proche»?

| | | | | | | |
|-------------|---|-------------|---|---|------------|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Pas du tout | | Moyennement | | | Énormément | |

29) *Voici une liste d'énoncés portant sur les attitudes personnelles et les traits de caractère. Indiquez pour chaque énoncé, s'il est vrai ou faux en ce qui vous concerne.*

| | | | |
|----|---|------|------|
| a- | Je trouve parfois difficile de faire mon travail si je ne suis pas encouragé. | VRAI | FAUX |
| b- | Je suis parfois irrité si je n'arrive pas à mes fins. | VRAI | FAUX |
| c- | J'aime faire des commérages indiscrets quelques fois. | VRAI | FAUX |
| d- | Quelques fois j'ai eu envie de me rebeller contre des gens qui exercent l'autorité même si je savais qu'ils avaient raison. | VRAI | FAUX |
| e- | Peu importe avec qui je converse, je sais toujours bien écouter. | VRAI | FAUX |
| f- | Il m'est déjà arrivé de profiter de quelqu'un. | VRAI | FAUX |
| g- | Lorsque je fais une erreur, je suis toujours prêt à l'admettre. | VRAI | FAUX |
| h- | Je suis toujours courtois, même envers les gens qui sont désagréables. | VRAI | FAUX |
| i- | Il m'est arrivé d'avoir envie de casser quelque chose. | VRAI | FAUX |
| j- | Je ne suis jamais contrarié lorsqu'on me demande de rendre service à quelqu'un. | VRAI | FAUX |
| k- | Je n'ai jamais été contrarié lorsque des gens ont exprimé des idées très différentes des miennes. | VRAI | FAUX |
| l- | Il m'est arrivé d'être assez jaloux du bonheur des autres. | VRAI | FAUX |
| m- | Je n'ai jamais senti qu'on m'avait puni sans raison. | VRAI | FAUX |
| n- | Je n'ai jamais dit délibérément quelque chose qui pouvait blesser quelqu'un. | VRAI | FAUX |

MERCI DE VOTRE PRÉCIEUSE PARTICIPATION!!

APPENDICE G

QUESTIONNAIRE DE L'ARTICLE 2

- 1.) Cette série de questions concerne vos opinions à l'égard des *immigrants*. Un immigrant est une personne née à l'extérieur du Canada et maintenant établie au Québec. Dans cette section, nous employons le terme "culture québécoise" pour référer à la culture francophone québécoise. Répondez en utilisant le code suivant:

| Pas du tout en accord 1 | Un peu en accord 2 | Moyennement en accord 3 | Assez en accord 4 | Énormément en accord 5 |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|

En ce qui concerne la culture...

- | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| a.) Les immigrants peuvent conserver leur culture d'origine tant qu'elle n'influence pas la culture des Québécois. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b.) Les Québécois n'ont rien à retirer de la présence des immigrants et de leur culture. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c.) Les immigrants devraient conserver leur culture d'origine tout en adoptant la culture québécoise. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d.) Que les immigrants conservent leur culture ou adoptent celle des Québécois n'a aucune importance puisque chaque individu est libre de choisir la culture qui lui convient. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| e.) Les immigrants devraient abandonner leur culture d'origine pour adopter la culture québécoise. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| f.) Les Québécois devraient transformer certains aspects de leur propre culture pour mieux intégrer les immigrants. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

- 2.) À quel point est-ce que vous avez senti les émotions suivantes en présence de la personne qui vous a demandé les directions pour la librairie?

| | Pas du tout 1 | Un peu 2 | Moyennement 3 | Assez 4 | Énormément 5 |
|-------------------------------|------------------|-------------|------------------|------------|-----------------|
| a.) Je me suis senti à l'aise | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b.) Je me suis senti intrigué | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c.) Je me suis senti effrayé | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d.) J'ai ressenti de la pitié | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

3.) *J'aimerais avoir vos impressions de la personne qui vous a demandé les directions pour la librairie. Répondez en utilisant le code suivant.*

Je sens que cette personne est:

| | Pas du tout 1 | Un peu 2 | Moyennement 3 | Assez 4 | Énormément 5 |
|--|------------------|-------------|------------------|------------|-----------------|
| a.) Attirante | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b.) Religieuse | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c.) Parle le français d'une façon compréhensible | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d.) Parle le français avec un accent | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Pensez à la personne qui vous a demandé les directions pour la librairie et répondez aux questions suivantes:

| | Pas du tout 1 | Un peu 2 | Moyennement 3 | Assez 4 | Énormément 5 |
|---|------------------|---------------|------------------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| f.) Aimerez-vous avoir cette personne comme amie? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| g.) Aimez-vous la façon que cette personne est habillée? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| h.) Combien de fois avez-vous personnellement vu des femmes habillées de cette façon dans la rue? | 1 Jamais | 2 Rarement | 3 Occasionnellement | 4 Souvent | 5 Très souvent |
| 4.) Comprenez-vous l'anglais? | 1 Pas du tout | 2 Un peu | 3 Moyen | 4 Bien | 5 Extrêmement bien |
| 5.) Parlez-vous l'anglais? | 1 Pas du tout | 2 Un peu | 3 Moyen | 4 Bien | 5 Extrêmement bien |

APPENDICE H

ACCUSÉS DE RÉCEPTION DES DEUX ARTICLES



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NOTES

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